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# CHARACTERS AND EPITHETS

A STUDY IN VERGIL'S AENEID

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# CHARACTERS AND EPITHETS

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## EPITHETS

THE ancient grammarians and rhetoricians used τὸ ἐπίθετον and its Latin transliteration, *epithetum*, or translation, *appositum*, in the sense in which we use the word *adjective*. In this they have been followed by the majority of modern lexicographers and writers on style. In fact the German word *Beiwort* may mean either adjective or epithet. Adjectives (or epithets) admit of division into classes; the usual division is into two classes, "necessary" and "ornamental." The former are defined as those which convey information; the latter as those which merely state some fact or quality already apparent in the object described. As examples of the latter Quintilian (VIII, vi, 40) gives "white teeth" and "liquid wine."

The use of these adjectives with these words is different from their use with other words, as, for example, in the phrases "white sky" and "liquid gas." The difference, however, is not in the conveying of information, for in both cases the adjectives do this. Moreover whiteness is not a necessary quality in teeth nor liquidness in wine; the teeth might be yellow or the wine frozen. The distinguishing feature is that the adjectives are felt to express qualities characteristic of teeth or wine.

This has been recognized in the New English Dictionary, which defines epithet as "(1) an adjective in-

dicating some quality or attribute, regarded as characteristic of the person or thing described, (2) a significant appellation." (This significance rests upon the extent to which it characterizes its object.) All adjectives tend to describe characteristics, but this is more true of those applied to things than of those applied to persons. The latter, being human, are subject to change, and adjectives may catch mere phases. Thus, Jones, usually a coward, may be brave once; Smith may be brave by nature. Then should one say "bold Jones," bold would be an adjective; should one say "bold Smith," it would be an epithetic adjective according to the New English Dictionary. This seems to be a real and a fair distinction. Therefore in the work which follows epithet will have the meanings assigned to it by the New English Dictionary, "(1) an adjective indicating some quality or attribute regarded as characteristic of the person or thing described, (2) a significant appellation." (The second may be a noun or phrase.)

The theses here proposed are: that Vergil in writing the *Aeneid* was deliberate in his use of personal epithets, especially so when he repeated one with a particular character; that this deliberateness made him consider in his choice of each personal epithet the traditional qualities and attributes of the character concerned, and the relation of these qualities and attributes to the plot or action of the poem; that where the character concerned was created by him the choice of epithets was made in relation to plot or action; that where metrical convenience or metrical effect made the use of any epithet expedient it was, nevertheless, not allowed to be unrelated to plot or action.



The dissertation attempts to establish these propositions, first, by contrasting briefly the use of personal epithets in Homer, Apollonius Rhodius, and Catullus, all of whom influenced Vergil, with the use of personal epithets in the *Aeneid*; secondly (after a necessary discussion of the use of antonomasia and of complex epithets), by considering the more striking repeated personal epithets; finally, by considering in detail the characters Dido, Juno, Venus, Aeneas, and Ascanius, attempting to discover the poet's reasons for the choice of the epithets applied to them, and to substantiate these reasons.

The striking feature of Homer's use of personal epithets is his repetition of particular epithets with special characters, a repetition so marked that it has given rise to the term "fixed epithets,"<sup>1</sup> and even "Homeric epithets." For instance, in the *Iliad* (where the name Achilles occurs approximately four hundred times) the combination  $\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$  'Αχιλλεύς occurs fifty-seven times, and the combination  $\pi\omicron\delta\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\eta\varsigma$   $\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$  'Αχιλλεύς an additional twenty-one times. Also various changes are rung on the  $\pi\omicron\delta\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\eta\varsigma$  theme. The combination  $\pi\acute{o}\delta\alpha\varsigma$   $\omega\kappa\upsilon\varsigma$  'Αχιλλεύς occurs at least thirty times, 'Αχιλλῆα  $\pi\acute{o}\delta\alpha\varsigma$   $\tau\alpha\chi\acute{\upsilon}\nu$  four times, and  $\pi\omicron\delta\acute{\omega}\kappa\epsilon\alpha$   $\Pi\eta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega\nu\alpha$  twelve times. The epithets of the other heroes and of the divinities are repeated in a similar manner, and to such an extent that the repetition strikes every reader of either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*.

The reasons behind this repetition cannot all be definitely determined. The manner of composition of the poems may be responsible for much of it. Whether one bard or many worked on the poem it is certain that a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. Krah. *De fixis quae dicuntur deorum et heroum epithetis*, p. 1.

stock of set phrases was largely drawn on, with the result that we find within the poems many parallel passages.<sup>1</sup> That part of the repetition of epithets is due to this is witnessed by their occurrence in the formulae used to introduce speeches. For example, of the thirty times πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς is used, twenty-four are in the formula προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς.

There may also be a skilful purpose behind some repetitions of personal epithets. Such seems to be the case with Θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα used in *Iliad* XVIII, 369, and repeated twelve lines later, XVIII, 381. In the first instance the goddess is shown on her way to the house of Hephaestus to ask arms for Achilles. There follows a detailed account of the fire god's workshop, an account which takes the reader's mind away from the purpose of Thetis' visit. It is recalled by the repetition of the goddess' name in line 381, a recollection that is made more immediate and more certain by the vividness which the epithet ἀργυρόπεζα adds and which its repetition emphasizes.

Regardless of how much such repetition is due to chance and how much to deliberate purpose on the part of the poet, it has two definite and important effects; it contributes to the reader's sense of the unity of the poem and to his feeling that here is poetry distinct from prose. It accomplishes the former by maintaining a consistent idea of the characters, for the repeated epithet takes one back to its previous occurrence and so on in a continued chain throughout the poem. The second result is due to the fact that repeated epithets are not a part of everyday life or its prose, a difference which the reader must feel. Also there is a formality about them which

<sup>1</sup> See the lists in C. E. Schmidt, *Parallel Homer*.

seems to contribute to that nobility which Matthew Arnold<sup>1</sup> finds in Homer without impairing the simplicity which he says must be combined with nobility to make great poetry.

Apollonius Rhodius wrote his *Argonautica* at Alexandria sometime in the third century B.C., a time when "epic poetry was out of fashion, and we find many epigrams of this period—some by Callimachus—directed against the 'cyclic poets,' by whom were meant at that time those who were always dragging in conventional and commonplace epithets and phrases peculiar to epic poetry." (R. C. Seaton, in his introduction to the Loeb Library edition of Apollonius.) Even if Apollonius wrote the *Argonautica* "out of bravado, to show that he *could* write an epic poem," he avoided the accusations made against the "cyclic poets" by his contemporary critics. So far is he from "dragging in conventional and commonplace epithets" that he seems to be deliberately avoiding them. In the poem he uses the name 'Ιήσων forty-one times, only once (II, 122, ἀρήιος) using an epithet with it. To stand for 'Ιήσων (that is, in antonomasia) he uses his patronymic Αἰσονίδης fifty-eight times, a frequency accounted for by the dislike of hexameter poets to use bacchiac words such as 'Ιήσων (— —) except in the last place in the line,<sup>2</sup> which is the only place where the nominative form 'Ιήσων occurs. With Αἰσονίδης he four times uses the epithet ἥρως which was his common appellation for all of the Argonauts. "Ἡρως is also used once with the phrase Αἰσονοῦ υἱός, which is itself used six times. The only similarity to Homer is that in four of the six times it is used Αἰσονοῦ

<sup>1</sup> *On Study of Celtic Literature and on Translating Homer*, New York, Macmillan, 1903, p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vergil's use of Ascanius and Iulus, p. 66.



*uios* introduces speeches. This one point of contact shows by its very slightness how widely divergent the two poets are in their use of personal epithets.

Catullus, a poet essentially of the Alexandrine school, in the *Peleus and Thetis*, his short epic, mentions thirty-six characters. Only twenty of these have epithets with their names, and only one epithet is repeated, *ferox* being used twice with Theseus.<sup>1</sup> The four hundred and eight lines of the *Peleus and Thetis* do not afford extensive material, but the poem is almost as long as some books of the *Iliad* and may serve as a contrast. It certainly shows that of the immediate predecessors of Vergil the one who influenced him most was not prone to "drag in conventional and commonplace epithets."

Vergil's use of personal epithets in the *Aeneid* may be illustrated by those used with Aeneas and Venus. The name Aeneas occurs in the poem two hundred and thirteen times, seventy-eight of these times with epithets.<sup>2</sup> *Pius* accounts for twenty and *pater* for nineteen of the seventy-eight. *Dardanius* (used four times) is the only other having more than three occurrences. The name Venus occurs fifty-three times, eleven of these with epithets. *Dea* accounts for three of the eleven and *alma* for two. This is not a great frequency or a large repetition of epithets, especially when we consider that, because the subject-matter of the *Aeneid* is essentially Homeric, literary tradition and good taste compelled the author to follow the Homeric manner.

This manner, in so far as it is concerned with epithets, was probably modified by Vergil's study of

<sup>1</sup> *Pater*, Jupiter's traditional title, is used for him in antonomasia three times.

<sup>2</sup> These figures do not include antonomasia, which is discussed in detail. pp. 7-10.

Apollonius and Catullus, a study evinced by the passages in which he imitates these authors. Their avoidance of personal epithets was certain to strike his notice, and so he would be brought to consider what practice he should follow. Indirectly they and their school had even more influence, for Vergil throughout his life maintained the standard of care in metric and diction set by the Alexandrians. To be sure of attaining perfection we are told that it was his habit to dictate a few verses in the morning and to spend the remainder of the day in polishing them. This polishing would remove words which the poet did not deliberately wish to have in his verse, and if his attention had been called to words of any particular class, such as personal epithets, their occurrence may make us certain that behind their use are deliberate reasons.

#### ANTONOMASIA

APPROXIMATELY 45 per cent. of the occurrences of epithets in the *Aeneid* (833 out of 1,832) are in antonomasia, that is, the epithets are substituted for proper names. Quintilian regarded antonomasia as a trope, a figure "employed to help out our meaning or adorn our style" (Quintilian, VIII, vi, 2). Epithets he considered the most usual form of antonomasia (VIII, vi, 29; IX, i, 6).

The substitution of anything for a proper name can rarely be a help in clarifying meaning. Even where widely different individuals have the same name, such as Pallas the father of Evander, Pallas the son of Evander, and Pallas the goddess (Minerva), the confusion which might be avoided by antonomasia can be avoided as well by the use of epithets with the name.



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These three are so distinguished in the eighth book of the *Aeneid* as *Pallas proavus* (*Pallantis proavi de nomine*, VIII, 54), *Pallas filius* (*Pallas huic filius*, VIII, 104), and *turbata Pallas* (*turbatae Palladis arma*, VIII, 435). In the case of the goddess, the distinction is further emphasized by the feminine ending of the epithet and the difference in declension, but clarity would not be increased by the omission of the proper names, that is, by the use of the epithets in antonomasia.

On the contrary, where the poet does use antonomasia he must be careful that there is no possibility of mistaking his meaning. This he can do in two ways, by using antonomasia only when the context makes clear the proper name for which the substitution is made, or by making the substitution itself distinctive. The desirability of the latter partly explains the large use in antonomasia of patronymics, secondary names (such as Iulus for Ascanius, Amor for Cupid, Elissa for Dido), and epithets derived from family relationships (such as *natus* and *nate dea* for Aeneas), though the last mentioned are somewhat ambiguous and therefore depend more upon the context for their clarity. The need of clearness also accounts for the tendency to choose epithets used in antonomasia from among the repeated epithets and complex epithets (see p. 11 and p. 16).

Although antonomasia does not "help out our meaning" it does help to "adorn our style" by allowing the substitution of a suggestive epithet for a proper name. This substitution is in itself an improvement in style for it avoids cumbersome repetition of the proper name, either of a character who plays a long continued rôle, or of one who dominates a particular passage. Let us consider the substitution as a means to avoid repeti-

tion in these two situations before we consider it as an adornment.

The use of antonomasia in the first case is shown by the proportionate number of times that epithets of the leading characters and of the other characters are used in antonomasia. Of the occurrences of epithets of Aeneas, Anchises, Apollo, Ascanius, Camilla, Dido, Hercules, Juno, Jupiter, Juturna, Latinus, Turnus, and Venus, 60 per cent. are in antonomasia, whereas only 31 per cent. of the occurrences of epithets with the other characters in the *Aeneid* are in antonomasia. In the case of Aeneas' epithets, the percentage is 60; of Ascanius', 73; of Juno's, 46; of Turnus', 47; of Venus', 77. Were the name of any of the more prominent characters used each time that it is represented by an epithet the recurrence of the name would certainly be monotonous.

If the frequent repetition of a name throughout the poem would be monotonous, in a brief passage it would be ridiculous, and by allowing the poet to avoid such repetition antonomasia does great service. For example, in lines 829-855 of Book XII Jupiter is mentioned seven times, first as *hominum rerumque repertor*, then in the genitive *Iovis*, then as *genitor*, then again in the genitive *Iovis*, then as *saevi . . . regis*, then as *deum rex*, and finally in the nominative *Iuppiter*. Had *Iuppiter* occurred four times and *Iovis* three in these twenty-six lines, the effect would have been absurd.

Such careful use of antonomasia as a solution of the problem of repetition of personal names has the advantage of allowing the poet to apply more epithets to the character and so to make his verse more rich in suggestion. In the passage just cited, all of the facts could have been given in a brief sentence with but a single mention

of the name of Jupiter. As it stands the reader not only gets the facts but his imagination is kindled by the various epithets.

More specific service is rendered the poet by antonomasia when it allows him to mention someone whose name would not fit in the hexameter conveniently or at all. For example, the nominative *Hercules* (— — —) cannot be used in the hexameter, and so the poet substitutes *Alcides* (twelve times), *Amphitryoniades* (twice), or some other epithet (six times) for it.<sup>1</sup>

Thus we see that much of Vergil's use of epithets may be explained by his use of antonomasia. However, it must be remembered that an epithet, no matter how it is used, conveys a certain idea to the reader's mind. Therefore it is important to try to discover the poet's reasons for the choice of an epithet, whether it is used in antonomasia or with the proper name.

#### COMPLEX EPITHETS

IN the examples of epithets applied to Achilles by Homer (see p. 3), it was noted that the combination ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς occurred twenty-one times. This use of two epithets with one noun, in spite of the fact that such a commentator as Servius (*ad Aen.*, II, 392; III, 70) and such a rhetorician as Quintilian (VIII, vi, 43) frown upon it, is common both in Homer and in Vergil. Even more common is the use of epithetical phrases (e.g., πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε Θεῶν τε, *deum rex*).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See also Apollonius' use of Αἰσονίδης for Ἰήσων (p. 5) and Vergil's use of Iulus for Ascanius (p. 66).

<sup>2</sup> Vergil's complex epithets imitate similar ones in Homer. They are not, as Cholevius assumes (*Epitheta ornantia quibus utitur Vergilius cum iis comparata quibus posteriores epici Latini maxime quidem Silius carmina sua dis-*

Vergil's purposes in using two epithets with one name and in using epithetal phrases are so similar that these combinations are here treated together under the term of "complex epithets."

The complex epithets number about two fifths of all the personal epithets of the *Aeneid*. In complexity they vary greatly, from epithets like *decus caeli* with Iris (IX, 18), necessarily made up of at least two words, for *decus* could not stand alone as an epithet, to complicated clauses like:

rex erat Aeneas nobis, quo iustior alter  
nec pietate fuit, nec bello maior et armis.

I, 544-545.

One thing is noticeable about them all, that the additional words give the reader much information in a short space. This makes complex epithets very valuable in antonomasia, for additional information clarifies the reference. For example, *dux*, used with several characters as a simple epithet or part of a complex one, gains explicitness when it is modified, as *dux Dardanius* (for Aeneas, IV, 224 ; IX, 100):

That complex epithets give information in a comparatively short space also accounts for their use with minor characters in the narrative, especially in places such as the catalogue of Book VII, and battle scenes where a great many people are mentioned in a very few lines. Here the use of the name alone would leave the character an unimpressive nonentity, whereas if proper epithets are applied he may become a vivid personality.

*tinxerunt*, Pars I), periphrases for Homeric compound epithets. None of the compound epithets found in the *Iliad* with Zeus, with Hera, with Hephaestus, with Achilles, and with Aeneas is represented by a complex epithet in the *Aeneid*.

As example there may be cited:

- (1) . . . ducit quàm parvus ovantem  
nomen avi referens Priamus, tua clara, Polite,  
progenies, auctura Italos;  
V, 563-565.
- (2) (of Rhamnes)  
rex idem et regi Turno gratissimus augur;  
IX, 327.
- (3) . . . cadit et Rhipeus, iustissimus unus  
qui fuit in Teucris et servantissimus aequi;  
II, 426-427.
- (4) . . . genitor, bellis adsuetus Opheltes.  
IX, 201.

Contrary to his practice with minor characters, Vergil rarely applies a complex epithet, especially if it is elaborate, to a major character in the narrative except on his first introduction. The reason is probably that when the reader is familiar with a character, he would feel that the piling up of epithets delayed the action. The poet does, however, use complex epithets with the major characters in speeches, especially those of the gods, and in prayers. This may be explained by the feeling that an elaborate epithet, as an elaborate title, does honour to the person addressed. Complex epithets have, too, a certain formality which adds to the dignity of the characters. As examples there may be cited:

- (1) a speech of the Sibyl to Aeneas,  
sate sanguine divum, Tros Anchisiade;  
VI, 125-126.
- (2) Venus' address to Jupiter,  
o pater, o hominum rerumque aeterna potestas;  
X, 18.



- (3) a prayer of Aeneas to Juno and Jupiter,  
 . . . pater omnipotens et tu Saturnia coniunx  
 iam melior, iam, diva, precor.

XII, 178-179.

#### REPEATED EPITHETS

OF the ninety-three cases of epithets occurring four or more times with the same name, eight have the epithet always recurring in the same position in the line, and fifteen more show a strong tendency for the epithet to recur in the same position. Eleven of these twenty-three have the epithet in the fifth or sixth foot, ten have the epithet in the first or second foot, two in the third or fourth foot.

Four of the epithets recurring at the end of the line (*Iulus* with *Ascanius*, *Sidonia* with *Dido*, *regia* and *Saturnia* with *Juno*) have such quantities that when used in the hexameter they result in harmony of accent and ictus. This Vergil avoids in the beginning and middle of the line but insists on at the end (see p. 66). Naturally, therefore, these epithets recur only in this position. The other epithets which recur at the end of the line fit easily into the required metrical scheme (e.g., *fidus Achates*) and if used elsewhere in the line must be in antonomasia or separated from their object.

The epithets used at the beginning of the line all have quantities which require clash of accent and ictus. Therefore they cannot occur in the end of the line. They could, however, come in the middle (except where they are so long or so elaborate that they would carry over into the fifth or sixth foot) like the two epithets which tend to recur in that position, *deus* and *genitor* with *Jupiter*.

When all of the occurrences of all of the epithets repeated four times or more are considered, it is found that 435 come in the first part of the line, 193 in the middle, and 208 at the end. When only those in antonomasia are considered, it is found that 319 occur in the beginning, 176 in the middle, 150 at the end. When only those with a name are considered, it is found that 116 occur in the beginning, 17 in the middle, and 58 at the end. The general tendency of epithets to occur in the beginning or the middle of the line is due to the fact that most of them require clash of accent and ictus. The beginning is favoured over the middle partly because many of the epithets if used in the latter position would run over into the fifth foot and so disturb the harmony of accent and ictus required there, and partly because an epithet representing or modifying the subject of a sentence would usually come at the beginning of the sentence, which in the *Aeneid* tends to coincide with the beginning of a line.<sup>1</sup>

The exigencies of construction, grammatical and metrical, explain the position of epithets in the line and increase their importance, especially that of the repeated ones, by resulting in their use in the two most prominent parts of the line, the beginning and the end. They do not explain why a particular epithet is chosen or repeated. In the first place, the choice of an epithet on these grounds would suggest that Vergil was intellectually lazy, a charge which the volume and excellence of his work refute. In the second place, so few of the epithets recur

<sup>1</sup> In the first 350 lines of the *Aeneid* (Oxford Edition) there are 100 sentences, of which 83 start at the beginning of a line. In these 350 lines there are 58 epithets, 27 in the beginning, 13 in the middle, 14 at the end. Ten of the 27 in the first two feet, 2 of those in the middle, and 2 at the end, open sentences.

in fixed positions in the line that it is evident that the poet placed each one with regard to the immediate circumstances and not by habit. In the third place, the use of some of the repeated epithets, such as *rex* with *Latinus*, is inconvenient, for they cannot be used next to the name in the line.

There are 136 cases of epithets occurring twice with the same character, 42 of those occurring 3 times, 24 of those occurring 4 times, 10 of those occurring 5 times, etc.<sup>1</sup> The number of cases diminishes more or less regularly as the number of occurrences increases, until we find only 2 epithets occurring as many as 35 times with the same character (*natus* with *Aeneas*, *Iulus* with *Ascanius*). This difference does not seem to be due to the diminishing number of characters playing extended rôles. The relatively longer rôles are reflected not in an increased repetition of one epithet, but in a greater number of epithets. For example, *Turnus* whose name occurs 151 times in the *Aeneid* (second in frequency to that of *Aeneas*) has 27 epithets applied to him, but no one of these occurs more than 7 times (*frater* is used with him 7 times, *rex* 6 times.) On the other hand, *Latinus*, whose name occurs but 44 times, has an epithet (*rex*) used 23 times, and *Camilla*, whose name occurs but 19 times, has an epithet (*virgo*) used 13 times.<sup>2</sup>

In studying Vergil's reasons for the repetition of epithets, there are two qualifying circumstances to be considered. The first is that there are a few epithets,

<sup>1</sup> See the figures after the names of the characters in Appendix II.

<sup>2</sup> The number of occurrences of a name is here taken to indicate roughly the extent of the rôle which the character plays in the poem. It is not to be used to make a definite proportion with the frequency of repetition of epithets, as many of the latter are in antonomasia.

such as *magnus*, which are used many times with many different characters. Occasional repetition of such an epithet is obviously not so important as a similar amount of repetition of an epithet used with a few characters. The second is that a traditional epithet, especially of a god, tended to become fixed by general use. Such epithets are prone to repetition within a poem because they are associated with the name in the poet's mind, and because their use allows him to suggest to the imagination the stories of literature and legend. Moreover, the accuracy with which traditional epithets (especially if they are patronymics or secondary names) designate a particular character makes their use in antonomasia very convenient. These were discussed in the section on antonomasia (see p. 8) where it was pointed out that their use avoided ambiguity. To a lesser extent this is true of all repeated epithets when used in antonomasia, for due to their prior association with the character they are more certain of being understood.

The general effect of the continued repetition of an epithet with the same character is to associate the quality or attribute it represents with that character. The poet may wish to establish this association in order to explain the actions of a character, in order to impress some fact important to the plot upon the reader's mind, in order to indicate the tenor of a passage, or in order to enhance the emotional appeal of an episode. In many cases some or all of these reasons are combined.

The first reason is especially important in an epic poem like the *Aeneid*. Epic poetry, as exemplified by Homer, by Apollonius, and by Vergil himself, is concerned primarily with the actions of characters. The characters themselves move through the series of events

unchanged.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, in order not to impede the action it is important for the poet to delineate a character quickly and clearly, and for him to recall to the reader any facts about a character which contribute to his action in any episode. For instance, Achates' part in the *Aeneid* is that of companion to Aeneas, a relation in which the quality of loyalty is most important. The epithet *fidus* used with Achates announces this side of his character, and it is repeated when it is most necessary for the reader to recall his loyalty to his leader. Five of the six passages in which it occurs deal with occasions when Aeneas is separated from the main body of the Trojans. They are (I, 188) where Aeneas and Achates go to explore the African coast, (VI, 158) where they leave their companions making camp and go to consult the Sibyl, (VIII, 521, 586) where they are at Pallanteum seeking Evander's aid, and (XII, 384) where Ascanius, Mnestheus, and *fidus* Achates help the wounded Aeneas from the fray. These represent all the instances of Aeneas' separation from his troops, except his journey to the underworld and his interview with Venus when she makes him her gift of arms (VIII, 608 ff.) The sixth occurrence of *fidus* Achates is in the middle of a battle scene (X, 332)<sup>2</sup>. In all of these cases *fidus*

<sup>1</sup> Ascanius forms an exception to this. Since he was a small child at Troy the years over which the action of the *Aeneid* spreads make it necessary for Vergil to indicate his growth. See pp. 49 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Though Achates is twice mentioned as carrying Aeneas' arms (I, 188; X, 332) he does not seem to have been an ordinary squire. He is not aboard Aeneas' ship as an *armiger* presumably would have been, for in the storm (I, 103 ff.) Vergil mentions "the ship of brave Achates." The fact that more than half of Achates' part in the *Aeneid* comes in the first book seems to indicate that at one time in the composition of the poem Vergil meant to make him a sort of Patroclus. If so he early gave up the idea, perhaps because he wished Aeneas to stand alone, perhaps because of the part given to Pallas in the later books.



sufficiently explains the presence of Achates and allows the poet to continue his narration.

The repetition of an epithet to impress the reader with facts having an important bearing on the plot of the poem, is illustrated by the use of *rex* with Latinus. Latinus, king of Latium, is the first one with whom the Trojans come in contact on their arrival in Italy. His office as king gives him the power to admit or expel them, to make treaties or to make war. This is impressed on the reader by his being called *rex* eleven times during the negotiations in the seventh book, and six times during the council of the Latins over which he presides in the eleventh book. Because he is king the treaties he makes are binding upon his followers, and the breaking of them throws the Latins in the wrong.

It is still more important for Vergil to keep reminding his readers that Latinus is king, because Lavinia is Latinus' only child and whoever marries her will inherit the kingdom. Therefore when Turnus learns of her betrothal to Aeneas he is eager to disrupt it, and the goad to war lies ready to Allecto's hand. The importance of marriage to Lavinia is impressed upon the reader by the use with her of the epithet *coniunx*. Creusa (II, 783) tells Aeneas that a *regia coniunx* awaits him in Italy, and Anchises points out to him the descendants of Silvius Aeneas,

quem tibi longaevo serum Lavinia coniunx  
educet.

VI, 764-765.

Juno symbolizes her own defeat in the line,

atque immota manet fatis Lavinia coniunx, VII, 314.

but says a few lines later :

sanguine Troiano et Rutulo dotabere, virgo,  
et Bellona manet te pronuba. VII, 318-319.

That the fighting is indeed about the marriage of Lavinia comes out in Drances' speech to the council of the Latins:

scilicet ut Turno contingat regia coniunx,  
nos animae viles, inhumata infletaque turba,  
sternamur campis, XI, 371-373.

and the three occurrences of *Lavinia coniunx* in the twelfth book keep this in the reader's mind. First Turnus insists that he be allowed to meet Aeneas in single combat, the prize to the winner to be the hand of the king's daughter:

aut hac Dardanium dextra sub Tartara mittam,

. . . . .

aut habeat victos, cedat Lavinia coniunx.

XII, 14-17.

When Amata tries to restrain Turnus he still insists on sending his challenge to Aeneas:

. . . nostro dirimamus sanguine bellum;  
illo quaeratur coniunx Lavinia campo. XII, 79-80.

Finally Turnus admits his defeat and asks Aeneas for mercy, saying:

. . . tua est Lavinia coniunx,  
ulterius ne tende odiis. XII, 937-938.

An epithet used to indicate the tenor of a passage does not have to be a repeated one. However, if the poet is sure that a given epithet will act as a sign-post for the reader he is inclined to repeat it, and once the reader has understood its import its repetition prepares him

to understand or interpret a passage. As an example there may be cited the use of *vates* with the Sibyl. Helenus in advising Aeneas to seek her aid twice refers to her as *vates* (III, 443, 456), and Aeneas himself first addresses her as *sanctissima vates praescia venturi* (VI, 65). The epithet is applied to her twelve more times in the sixth book, once when her prophetic trance is described (VI, 78), once (VI, 211) when Aeneas fulfils her command to procure the golden bough, twice (VI, 161, 189) in connection with the death of Misenus which she had prophesied, once when she persuades Charon to transport Aeneas and herself across the Styx (VI, 415), once when she charms Cerberus (VI, 419), and six times introducing speeches. This use of *vates* in the introduction of speeches is not a mere formula, for there seems to be a deliberate effort on the part of the poet to vary his language.<sup>1</sup> There is *vatisque ferunt responsa per auras* (82), *cum sic orso loqui vates* (125), *conclamat vates* (259), *coepit cum talia vates* (372), *quae contra breviter fata est Amphrysia vates* (398), and *tum vates sic orsa loqui* (562). Only between the second and last of these is there any similarity. The reason for the use of *vates* is not convenience, but to point out the prophetic character which all of these speeches have.<sup>2</sup>

The repetition of an epithet to enhance the emotional appeal of an episode may be illustrated by the use of *puer* with Euryalus in the ninth book. He is described, keeping guard at the gate of the camp, as

ora puer prima signans intonsa iuventa, IX, 181.

When he signifies his desire to accompany Nisus on the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Homer's use of a repeated epithet, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> There is a similar use of *vates* with Helenus in the third book.

expedition to carry news to Aeneas, Nisus remonstrates, refusing to be responsible to the mother,

quae te sola, puer, multis e matribus ausa  
persequitur . . . IX, 217-218.

Finally, before the companions set out, Ascanius addresses Euryalus as *venerande puer* (IX, 276). The repetition of the epithet in these passages increases the reader's respect for the boy's daring and prepares the way for sympathy at his untimely death.

## DIDO

**R**EGARDLESS of Vergil's source for the basic facts of the Dido episode, there can be no doubt, in the light of Prof. N. W. De Witt's study (*The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Vergil*), that the poet was profoundly influenced by erotic poetry though he eschewed its worst faults, especially in his language. As De Witt has pointed out (p. 70 f.) "the language of erotic poetry has two evil tendencies which lead to excessive sentimentality on the one hand and obscenity on the other . . . it will be found that he has carefully avoided both these vices." For instance, "the elsewhere omnipresent *puella* is replaced by the proud *regina* which points suggestively to the transformation of the erotic story into a tragedy." As if to insure that the epithet would do this Virgil puts forth his best effort in describing the first entrance of the queen :

regina ad templum, forma pulcherrima Dido,  
incessit magna iuvenum stipante caterva.  
qualis in Eurotae ripis aut per iuga Cynthi  
exercet Diana choros, quam mille secutae  
hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades; illa phare-  
tram

fert umero gradiensque deas supereminet omnis  
(Latonae tacitum pertemptant gaudia pectus):  
talis erat Dido, talem se laeta ferebat  
per medios instans operi regnisque futuris.



tum foribus divae, media testudine templi,  
 saepta armis solioque alte subnixa resedit.  
 iura dabat legesque viris, operumque laborem  
 partibus aequabat iustis aut sorte trahebat.

I, 496-508.

Certainly she is as Venus earlier says (I, 364) *dux femina facti*, and as such she commands respect.

Once this position is established, the use of *regina* where, under different circumstances, one would expect *puella* (as where Aeneas thinks of the difficulty of telling her about his impending departure, *quo nunc reginam ambire furentem | audeat adfatu?* [IV, 283-284] and in I, 660, 674, 697, 717, and IV, 296) places the love story of Dido on a high plane. Yet this elevation, though it gilds Aeneas' dereliction, does not exculpate him. To justify Aeneas' part in the Dido episode, or if not to justify it at least to prevent the alienation of the reader's sympathy from his hero, was one of Vergil's greatest problems in the *Aeneid*. That it was a problem in the solution of which he was not altogether successful, we may judge from the great amount of modern criticism which has centred around the point. The desertion Vergil obviously justified to himself by making it a departure in obedience to orders from Jupiter (*cf.* p. 83 and De Witt, *op. cit.*, p. 37). He could also count somewhat on the fact that Dido to the Romans represented Carthage, their hereditary enemy, which would incline them to side with Aeneas.

To remind the reader that Dido was a Carthaginian is probably the purpose of the epithets *Sidonia* and *Phoenissa*. There is no extant use of these words in the sense of "Carthaginian" prior to Vergil, but he takes pains to

repeat (what was already well known) the fact that Carthage was an offshoot of the Phoenician city Sidon (I, 335 ff.), and that the words were understood in this sense is evident from their subsequent use, immediately by Ovid (*Phoenissa*, *Fasti*, III, 595; *Sidonia*, *M.*, XI, v, 80) and at a later date by Silius Italicus (*Phoenissa*, VII, 409 and elsewhere; *Sidonia*, I, 10 and elsewhere).

*Infelix* is likewise used to soften the reader's opinion of Aeneas, first by preparing him for the outcome of Dido's love, and secondly by suggesting that this outcome was inevitable. The word itself means "unfortunate," that is, "ill fated." Its force may be understood by considering the other characters to whom it is applied in the *Aeneid*: Acoetes, Acron, Amata, Andromache, Camilla, Celaeno, Coroebus, Cydon, Halaesus, Iturna, Nisus and Euryalus, Priam, Theseus, Troilus, Ufens, and Ulysses.<sup>1</sup> All but five of these, Celaeno, Iturna, Ulysses, Theseus, and Andromache (whose fates were not very happy), met violent deaths. In the light of these examples we realize what it portends when it is used with Dido.

The cause of Dido's infelicity was, of course, her love for Aeneas, a love for which, as De Witt has pointed out (*op. cit.*, p. 34), Aeneas was in no way to blame since Venus inflicted it, Dido cherished it, and Juno brought its consummation. That this love is to be her undoing Vergil is careful to point out by coupling *infelix* with descriptions of the inception and growth of her passion. Thus we first find it in the lines:

praecipue infelix, pesti devota futurae,  
expleri mentem nequit ardescitque tuendo  
Phoenissa . . . I, 712-714.

<sup>1</sup> Also Juno speaks of her thwarted self as *infelix* in VII, 309.

A few lines later we hear of the first results of Cupid's endeavour to kindle her love for Aeneas:

nec non et vario noctem sermone trahebat  
infelix Dido longumque bibebat amorem.

I, 748-749.

When in the fourth book we come back to the story of Dido she is shown to us beside herself with love:

uritur infelix Dido totaque vagatur  
urbe furens . . .

IV, 686-9.

The remaining times *infelix* is used with Dido are in the passages which deal with the result of her passion. When Aeneas has made clear to her that he is really to leave Carthage we get a definite indication of her purpose:

at non infelix animi Phoenissa neque umquam  
solvitur in somnos oculisve aut pectore noctem  
accipit: ingeminant curae rursusque resurgens  
saevit amor . . .

IV, 529-532.

When dawn comes and she sees Aeneas sailing away her first thought is to order a pursuit, and then she realizes the hopelessness of her lot. Here she says to herself:

infelix Dido, nunc te facta impia tangunt? IV, 596.

The use of *infelix* in connection with Dido's unhappy love for Aeneas also serves to give additional pathos to one of the most moving passages in the poem. Dido, about to kill herself, sums up all of the proud success she has had and thinks, just once, of what might have been:

urbem praeclaram statui, mea moenia vidi,  
ulta virum poenas inimico a fratre recepi,

felix, heu nimium felix, si litora tantum  
numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae.

IV, 655-658.

Into that *felix, heu nimium felix*, goes by contrast all of the accumulated sorrow of the many preceding uses of *infelix*.

The two remaining passages in which this epithet is used with the Carthaginian queen (V, 3 and VI, 456) show that the poet and Aeneas remember her, as the reader must, as *infelix Dido*.



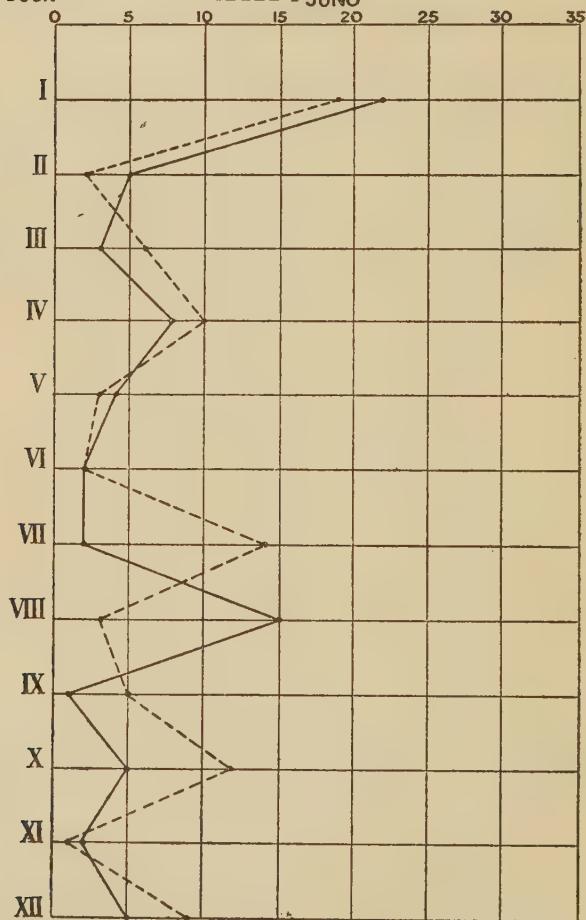


# NUMBER OF REFERENCES TO CHARACTER

Book

— = VENUS

- - - = JUNO



## JUNO

**J**UNO'S part in the plot of the *Aeneid* is well shown by the accompanying graph, which represents references to her and to Venus in the different books of the *Aeneid*. Aeneas, fated to settle Italy and to be the sire of a line which would rule the world, found his opponent in Juno. "Fate has decreed that one people shall rule the world; she prefers another, and she tries conclusions with Fate. Aeneas as the instrument of Fate suffers" (T. R. Glover, *Virgil*, p. 141). Venus as champion of Aeneas is given more to do, and the plot of the *Aeneid* gains immeasurably.

The opposition of Juno to the Trojans in the Trojan War, and to Rome in the Punic Wars, was a literary fact, and came ready made by Homer and Ennius to Vergil's hands. He could not ignore it, for it was part of the popular tradition, and so he developed it to include the war between the Latins and the Trojans, thereby adding force to his plot and unity to his story. Yet it presented to him a grave problem: he was forced to picture a goddess held in high esteem at Rome as the cause of all of the early misfortunes of the founder of Rome.

The late W. Warde Fowler in his *Gathering of the Clans* (pp. 38-40) offers three answers to this problem. First, he says that we over-estimate the importance of Juno at Rome because we are accustomed to consider her the wife of Jupiter, whereas "there is hardly any-

thing to connect the two deities together, except Homer and the wilful identification of Hera and Juno. Rid your mind of this identification, and you will recognize the poet's right to turn Juno to any account he pleases."

Fowler forgets that the identification of Hera and Juno was accepted by Vergil himself, and before him by Cicero (*pro Scauro*, 2, 47) and Ennius (*ed. Vahlen, Varia*, 60 ff.) and that the Roman populace probably had no doubt about her being *regina deum*, judging from the widespread use of the epithet in inscriptions. (See Preller, *Römische Mythologie*, Vol. I, pp. 151, 154, 271, 284, 285, and Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexicon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, Vol. II, p. 576. The latter concludes from the completeness of the identification and the similarity of their attributes that the goddesses represent a common heritage of Greeks and Romans from Pelasgian times.)

Fowler's second suggestion is that Juno represented the female principle at Rome, and that in the poem she stands for a false idea of empire, "false, not only because it is backed up by a great female *numen* whose temper is irreconcilable with the large masculine benevolence of Jupiter, but because with the aid of that *numen* it is embodied in a woman, Dido, foreshadowing the beautiful and dangerous queen of Virgil's own day." If Fowler is right in this, and if the average Roman reader would have been able to read it between the lines of the poem, it would have sharpened Juno's opposition to Aeneas, and so instead of solving Vergil's problem, increased it.

Finally Fowler says: "This use of Juno in the *Aeneid* was perhaps made easier and more natural because as a goddess she belonged rather to Rome's early enemies than to Rome herself. . . . At Rome, strange to say, she

had no great local name and fame in early times, and thus no feelings could be hurt if a Roman poet made her the deadly enemy of Rome." Here again Fowler seems to ignore the contemporaneous view, for the Roman reader would almost certainly have linked the Juno of the *Aeneid* with the Juno worshipped in the great temple on the Capitoline, but he does suggest the key to the problem. The Juno of Vergil's poem is not so much the enemy of the yet unfounded Rome as she is the friend of the Greeks, the Carthaginians, and the Italians. Aeneas' destiny and that of his descendants is inimical to these peoples, and therefore Juno opposes him. Vergil, by emphasizing her friendship for and patronage of the Italians, is able to make her both the villainess of the *Aeneid* and the later protectress of Rome. It is this emphasis on her friendship for the Italians which is missed by the commentators, notably by Henry (*Aeneidea*, I, 288) who says: "the poet himself was in a fix between Juno—at the time *of* which he wrote, most malignant, most dreaded enemy; and Juno, at the time *in* which he wrote—most honoured and valued friend. How was it possible for him not to feel himself trammelled, or to conceal from his readers the trammels he felt?"

The great friendship of Juno for the Italians was natural, and would seem natural to Vergil's Roman readers, because of the identification first of Saturnus, the legendary founder of Italy, with Kronos and then of his children, Jupiter and Juno, with the children of Kronos, Zeus and Hera. How closely the legends coincided is seen from a passage in Ennius' translation of Euhemerus (*ed. Vahlen, Varia*, 64 ff.):

Exim Saturnus uxorem duxit Opem. Titan qui  
maior natu erat postulat ut ipse regnaret. ibi Vesta

mater eorum et sorores Ceres atque Ops suadent Saturno, uti de regno ne concedat fratri. ibi Titan, qui facie deterior esset quam Saturnus, idcirco et quod videbat matrem atque sorores suas operam dare uti Saturnus regnaret, concessit ei ut is regnaret. itaque pactus est cum Saturno, uti si quid liberum virile secus ei natum esset, ne quid educaret. id eius rei causa fecit, uti ad suos gnatos regnum rediret. tum Saturno filius qui primus natus est, eum necaverunt. deinde posterius nati sunt gemini, Iuppiter atque Iuno.

Ennius himself apparently followed this legend, for we find in his annals (*ed. Vahlen, 64*):

respondit Iuno Saturnia sancta dearum.

Vergil also followed it, for *Saturnia* is by far the most frequent epithet of Juno in the *Aeneid*, occurring sixteen times. That Vergil used this epithet because he wished it to remind his reader that it was natural for Juno to side with the Italians is shown by a study of the particular occurrences of *Saturnia*.

First there is one important general consideration. In Books I–VI, though Juno is mentioned forty-one times, the epithet *Saturnia* is used only four times; in Books VII–XII, which deal with the war between the Italians and Trojans, she is mentioned thirty-one times, and the epithet *Saturnia* is used twelve times. Quite obviously her relation to the Italians is brought to mind.

The particular lines in which the epithet is used reinforce this conclusion. The first is:

id metuens veterisque memor Saturnia belli. I, 23.

This has no direct connection with Italy—the war



mentioned is, of course, that of Troy—but presumably these lines of the proem (1-34) were written after the rest of the *Aeneid* (Crump, *The Growth of the Aeneid*, p. 105) when the epithet was firmly fixed in the poet's mind. If so *Saturnia* serves to introduce one aspect of the goddess. The second is:

... prohibent nam cetera Parcae  
scire Helenum farique vetat Saturnia Iuno,  
III, 379-380.

where she forbids Helenus to speak about *Italy*.

The third and fourth (IV, 92; V, 606) seem to have no reference to Italy, but the fifth (VII, 428) is important. Allecto, sent by Juno to stir Turnus to war, approaches him disguised as an old woman and is mocked by him. She then turns to her true rôle as a Fury, frightens him to attention, and repeats her message:

i nunc, ingratis offer te, irrise, periclis;  
Tyrrhenas, i, sterne acies; tege pace Latinos.  
haec adeo tibi me, placida cum nocte iaceres,  
ipsa palam fari omnipotens Saturnia iussit.  
VII, 425-428.

The words of Saturnia had to be obeyed by an Italian. It is notable too that in Turnus' reply come the lines:

... nec regia Iuno  
immemor est nostri. VII, 438-439.

The remaining occurrences of *Saturnia* are all but one in connection with the war, especially with Turnus' part in it: in VII, 560, when she has told Allecto to depart to the underworld:

"... ego, si qua super fortuna laborum est,  
ipsa regam." tales dederat Saturnia voces;

VII, 572,

nec minus interea extremam Saturnia bello  
imponit regina manum;

VII, 622,

tum regina deum caelo delapsa morantes  
impulit ipsa manu portas, et cardine verso  
belli ferratos rumpit Saturnia postes;

IX, 2,

Irim de caelo misit Saturnia Iuno  
audacem ad Turnum;

IX, 745, (defending Turnus)

... vulnus Saturnia Iuno  
detorsit veniens . . . ;

IX, 802,

nec contra vires audet Saturnia Iuno  
sufficere; aëriam caelo nam Iuppiter Irim  
demisit germanae haud mollia iussa ferentem;

X, 760 (perhaps the most remarkable, for the author  
definitely opposes Venus and Juno, associating each  
with her own side),

... caedebant pariter pariterque ruebant  
victores victique, neque his fuga nota neque illis.  
di Iovis in tectis iram miserantur inanem  
amborum, et tantos mortalibus esse labores:  
hinc Venus, hinc contra spectat Saturnia Iuno;

XII, 156 (Juno speaks to Juturna, sister of Turnus),

"non lacrimis hoc tempus" ait Saturnia Iuno;  
"accelera et fratrem, si quis modus, eripe morti,  
aut tu bella cie conceptumque excute foedus:  
auctor ego audendi;"

XII, 178 (Aeneas prays before the single combat),  
 et Pater omnipotens et tu Saturnia coniunx  
 (iam melior, iam, diva, precor) . . .

The final occurrence of *Saturnia* is in a passage which is, in a way, the final answer to this prayer. Jupiter (XII, 791 ff.) having convinced Juno of her folly in fighting Fate, ends by forbidding her to continue. Her answer is prefaced by the line:

sic dea summisso contra Saturnia vultu. XII, 807.

It admits her opposition and closes with her plea for the preservation of Latin customs and manners:

“et nunc cedo equidem pugnasque exosa relinquo.  
 illud te, nulla fati quod lege tenetur,  
 pro Latio obtestor, pro maiestate tuorum:  
 cum iam conubiis pacem felicibus (esto)  
 component, cum iam leges et foedera iungent,  
 ne vetus indigenas nomen mutare Latinos,  
 neu Troas fieri iubeas Teucrosque vocari,  
 aut vocem mutare viros aut vertere vestem.  
 sit Latium, sint Albani per saecula reges,  
<sup>1</sup>sit Romana potens Itala virtute propago:  
 occidit, occideritque sinas cum nomine Troia.”  
 olli subridens hominum rerumque repertor;  
 “es germana Iovis *Saturnique altera proles*:  
 irarum tantos volvis sub pectore fluctus.  
 verum age et inceptum frustra summitte furorem:  
 do quod vis, et me victusque volensque remitto.  
 sermonem Ausonii patrium moresque tenebunt,  
 utque est nomen erit; commixti corpore tantum  
 subsident Teucri. morem ritusque sacrorum

<sup>1</sup> Remember that Vergil was an Italian before he was a Roman, and when he proudly wrote this, he was making a prophecy after the fact.

adiciam faciamque omnes uno ore Latinos.  
 hinc genus Ausonio mixtum quod sanguine surget,  
 supra homines, supra ire deos pietate videbis,  
 nec gens ulla tuos aeque celebrabit honores."  
 annuit his Iuno et mentem laetata retorsit.

XII, 818-841.

This is the real climax of the *Aeneid*, the turning point of the plot, for after the submission of Juno the fall of Turnus and his companions follows quickly. Yet the moral victory lies with Juno for her plea for the Italians is granted. It is interesting to note that Vergil in this passage deliberately calls our attention to the fact that she was an Italian goddess—he calls her *Saturnia* (807), speaks of the Italians as *tuorum* (820), i.e., "your kin as descendants of your father Saturnus," and Jupiter calls her *Saturni altera proles* (830). Finally all wounds are healed (and readers who questioned the propriety of making Juno the opposition answered) by the prophecy of the great honours to be paid to her at Rome.

Having seen how Vergil justifies his use of a goddess held in such high esteem at Rome as the opposition in his plot, let us see how he brings out that opposition. There are first of all the direct references to Juno's wrath, notably in the first hundred lines:

... multum ille et terris iactatus et alto  
 vi superum, saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram;  
 I, 3-4.

Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso,  
 quidve dolens regina deum tot volvere casus  
 insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores  
 impulerit. tantaene animis caelestibus irae?

I, 8-11.

id metuens veterisque memor Saturnia belli,  
 prima quod ad Troiam pro caris gesserat Argis:  
 necdum etiam causae irarum saevique dolores  
 exciderant animo; manet alta mente repostum  
 iudicium Paridis spretaeque iniuria formae,  
 et genus invisum, et rapti Ganymedis honores;

I, 23-28.

cum Iuno aeternum servans sub pectore vulnus  
 haec secum: "mene incepto desistere victam,  
 nec posse Italia Teucrorum avertere regem?  
 quippe vetor fatis. Pallasne exurere classem  
 Argivum atque ipsos potuit submergere ponto,  
 unius ob noxam et furias Aiacis Oilei?  
 ipsa Iovis rapidum iaculata e nubibus ignem,  
 disiecitque rates evertitque aequora ventis,  
 illum expirantem transfixo pectore flammam  
 turbine corripuit scopuloque infixit acuto;  
 ast ego, quae divum incedo regina Iovisque  
 et soror et coniunx, una cum gente tot annos  
 bella gero. et quisquam numen Iunonis adorat  
 praeterea aut supplex aris imponet honorem?"

I, 36-49.

These make exceedingly clear the hatred she bears toward Aeneas and his band, and the idea thus conveyed, an idea necessary for understanding the plot, is kept before the reader's eyes by many of the epithets which Vergil uses in connection with her. She is called *aspera* (I, 279), *atrox* (I, 662), *acerba* (I, 668), *saevissima* (II, 612), *saeva* (VII, 287, 592), *iniqua* (VIII, 292), *dura* (X, 44), her *gravis ira . . . exsaturabile pectus* is mentioned (V, 781), and she is spoken of as *acta furore gravi* (X, 62).



The reasons given for this harsh anger belong to the Greek tradition, the judgment of Paris, and Zeus' favouring of Ganymede, a Trojan. Yet the anger Vergil represents is not the anger, the *χόλος*, exhibited in Homer (*Il.*, IV, 24 ff.; V, 757 ff.; XVIII, 117 ff.) which always has as ultimate cause the infidelity of Zeus. That is jealous pique, not the ruthless ire (*gravis ira*) which pursued Aeneas. The latter must be accounted for by the first reason given in the *Aeneid*, the fact that the race founded by Aeneas was fore-ordained to destroy Carthage. This caused the wrath which made Juno try conclusions with Fate, and her comparative impotence added to it.

The favouring of Carthage was also a part of the literary tradition if we may trust Servius' quotation (*ad Aen.*, I, 281) of a line of Ennius' *Annales*:

Romanis Iuno coepit placata favere.

(*En.*, ed. Vahlen, *An.*, 291.)

This would indicate that Ennius represented Juno as having previously (until the middle of the second Punic War, according to Servius) favoured Carthage. Vergil, tactfully ignoring his picture of events at Carthage and Dido's curse, makes her, as we have seen, give up her anger much earlier. The line in which she renounces her wrath must be quoted again, for it is an excellent example of Vergil's skill in the use of modifiers:

annuit his Iuno et mentem laetata retorsit.

In no other way could he have shown the change of mind so well as by the strong contrast to all the hostile epithets of the participle *laetata*.

If he ignores Carthage and the Dido episode at the

end, he makes the most of it to accentuate Juno's antagonism in the beginning. Carthage, Rome's traditional enemy, is made a favourite city of Juno (I, 12 ff.), and this is recalled to our minds off and on throughout the first book. In line 443, the site of Carthage is described as chosen in accordance with an omen given by *regia Iuno*, and Dido is shown building a temple to her on that spot. Again, in 671, we hear of Venus' fear of *Iunonia hospitia*. A more subtle means is the emphasis placed on Dido's worship of Juno. In I, 734, at the beginning of the banquet to Aeneas, she prays to Juno as *bona Iuno*. In the first part of Book IV, when Aeneas' tale is told, Dido begins once more to take an active part in the story. We find her conversing with Anna, her sister, who tells her that it was good fortune that brought Aeneas to Carthage, that he came *Iunone secunda*. It is Juno who takes Dido's part against Venus, and who tries to change an amour into a marriage (IV, 90 ff.), and *pronuba Iuno* is present at the meeting in the cave (IV, 166). When Dido is arguing with Aeneas (IV, 366 ff.) she refers to Juno as *maxima*:

... iam iam nec maxima Iuno  
nec Saturnius<sup>1</sup> haec oculis Pater aspicit aequis,  
IV, 371-372.

in a tone which leads one to imagine that she thought Juno should have been more helpful.

Again in a prayer, her final prayer, Dido calls on Juno for vengeance:

tuque harum interpretes curarum et conscia Iuno.  
IV, 608.

<sup>1</sup> This reference to Saturn (Jupiter?) and the earlier one to Saturnia make it look as though Vergil were connecting the Carthaginians and the Latins, and so unifying Juno's attitude here and in Books VII-XII.

Juno's own attitude is shown by her pity for the dying queen:

tum Iuno omnipotens longum miserata dolorem  
difficilesque obitus Irim demisit Olympo,  
quae luctantem animam nexosque resolveret artus.  
IV, 693-695.

Juno's partiality for Carthage, Rome's traditional enemy, would, as we have said, bring home to the Roman reader her opposition to Aeneas, and so the force of that side of the main plot. There remains the sub-plot, the struggle between Juno and Venus, for us to consider. This is early evident in the first book, for after we have seen Juno's enmity and its results in the storm, we are immediately shown Venus, the champion at the throne of Jupiter. She does not mention Juno to him, but he seems to read her heart, and refers in his reply to *aspera Iuno* who had made all of the trouble for the Trojans. Immediately Venus goes to the aid of her son on the African shore, and guides him to Carthage. Not content with this, she plots with Cupid to ensure Dido's good will, and in this passage (I, 657 ff.) we have our first statement of Venus' recognition of the impending battle of divine wits:

urit atrox Iuno, et sub noctem cura recursat;  
I, 662.

frater ut Aeneas pelago tuus omnia circum  
litora iactetur odiis Iunonis acerbae;  
I, 667-668.

... et vereor, quo se Iunonia<sup>~</sup>vertant  
hospitia.  
I, 671-672.

Throughout the rest of the poem, Venus and Juno play parallel parts, except in the seventh and eighth books. In the former the Juno-Allecto episode gives Juno the stage, in the latter Venus' presentation of weapons to Aeneas makes her the more important character.

Our sympathy, however, is always with Venus, and it is interesting to note one way in which the poet ensures this. Venus' divine beauty is brought again and again to our attention; the only mention of Juno's appearance is a reference to the judgment of Paris. With this Vergil apparently concurred, although the Juno of his sources and of tradition was the ideal type of matronly beauty. So we have her called by Homer:

βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη, *Il.*, I, 551, *et al.*

Ἥρης ἡυκόμοιο, *Il.*, X, 5.

Θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη, *Il.*, I, 55.

Ἥρην ἀεῖδω χρυσόθρονον ἣν τέκε Ῥεῖη,  
ἀθανάτων βασιλείαν ὑπεύροχον εἶδος ἔχουσαν.

*Hom. Hymna*, 12, 2.

Vergil does not use any of these epithets in connection with Juno, but he does add insult to the injury of silence by adapting two of them, *ἡυκόμοιος* and *λευκώλενος* for Venus. So we have her *ambrosiaequae comae* mentioned (I, 403) and her *nivei lacerti* (VIII, 387).

It is only by Vergil's silence about Juno's beauty that any contrast with that of Venus is implied; he never makes any unfavourable comment. This holds true in other respects also, except for those epithets which point out the trait of anger in her character. In fact the epithets of Juno continually remind us of her high position. She is called *regina deum* (I, 9), *regina* (I, 76), *regia* (I, 443), *bona* (I, 734), *magna* (III, 437), *domina potens*

(III, 438), *diva Lacinia* (III, 552), *cara Iovis coniunx* (IV, 91), *regia* (IV, 114), *maxima* (IV, 371), *omnipotens* (IV, 693), *magna Iovis coniunx* (VII, 308), *omnipotens* (VII, 428), *regia* (VII, 438), *regina deum* (VII, 620), *maxima* (VIII, 84), *coniunx Iovis* (X, 44), *regia* (X, 62), *germana mihi [Iovi] atque eadem gratissima coniunx* (X, 606), *maxima* (X, 685), *germana Iovis Saturnique altera proles* (XII, 830).

This continued reference to her high position helps the plot by reminding the reader of the great power and importance of the opposition. It also serves to prevent any feeling that the author is being disrespectful to the queen of heaven, as do the references to her worship at Argos (III, 547), Samos (I, 16), Lacinia (III, 552), Gabina (VII, 682).

The majority of these epithets are found in Homer (see Schulze, *Verzeichniss der Homerischen Epitheta*), but it is important to note their occurrences in Roman literature as well (see Carter, *Epitheta deorum quae apud poetas Latinos leguntur*) for it shows how completely Hera and Juno had been identified. Also one should realize that there were distinct cults in Italy of *Juno Regina*, *Juno Lacinia*, *Juno Gabina*, and *Juno Pronuba* (Preller, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 473).

To summarize: The plot of the *Aeneid* consists in a thesis, the decree of Fate that Aeneas and his Trojans shall settle Hesperia, an antithesis of Juno's opposition, and the reconciliation of these into a higher synthesis. The key to this solution lies not in Juno the enemy of the Trojans (as in Homer) but in Juno Saturnia, patron goddess of Italian soil.



## VENUS

OF the eighteen epithets used with Venus in the *Aeneid*, fifteen occur in earlier literature, Greek or Latin. Two of the three which are first found in the *Aeneid*, *coniunx* and *formae conscia*, give no new information about the goddess, and the third, *Acidalia*, seems to depend on her worship at a fountain in Orchomenos (*cf.* J. C. Frazer, *Pausanias*, Vol. V, p. 187.) Such conforming with tradition is almost inevitable when a poet is dealing with a character so well known to his readers as Venus was to the Romans, both in their literature and in their everyday life. More remarkable than what Vergil draws from the sources about Venus is what he leaves out (*see* Sellar, *Virgil*, p. 345, and Sainte-Beuve *Etude sur Virgile*, p. 246.) In the *Aeneid* the type of epithet found in the beginning of Lucretius:

*Aeneadum genetrix hominumque divumque voluptas,*  
*alma Venus . . . ,* *D.R.N.*, I, 1-2.

is lacking, only *formae conscia* (VIII, 393) even approaching it, and this is used in relation to Vulcan, her husband. Vergil does, however, appeal to his reader through the beauty of the goddess, not only by the descriptions of her<sup>1</sup> such as the famous passage:

*dixit et avertens rosea cervice refulsit,*  
*ambrosiaequae comae divinum vertice odorem*

<sup>1</sup> Many of these also seem to be taken from Homer. *See* Sainte-Beuve, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

spiravere; pedes vestis defluxit ad imos;  
et vera incessu patuit dea . . . , I, 402-405.

but also by epithets such as *aurea* (X, 16), *candida* (VIII, 608), and *pulcherrima* (IV, 227) (see p. 41).

The striking fact about Venus' epithets in the *Aeneid* is that forty-eight of the sixty-two occurrences are accounted for by epithets indicating either her divinity or the fact that she is Aeneas' mother. The ideas are combined eighteen times, twice in the phrase *mater dea* (I, 382; XII, 52), twice in the phrase *diva creatrix* (VI, 367; VIII, 534), three times in the phrase *diva parens* (IV, 365; VI, 197; VIII, 531), and eleven times in the phrase *nate dea*, an epithet of Aeneas (see list of Aeneas' epithets, Appendix I). *Dea* is used nine other times, *diva* three times, *genetrix* six times, *mater* six times, *parens* four times.

These epithets owe their preponderance to the plot and the purpose of the poem. The plot lies in the struggle of Aeneas, compelled by Fate but opposed by Juno, to reach Italy. It is essential that he have an interested champion (*mater*) of the same class (*dea*) as his opponent. This more than doubles the possibilities of incident and dramatic suspense by including heaven in the range of the story (see p. 29).

The purpose of the *Aeneid* (written, one must remember, at the suggestion of Augustus) was to emphasize the divine right of Rome, the nation, by portraying its historical background, by unifying its tradition, by pointing to its future. To accomplish this it was necessary to connect the early history of Rome and Italy with the Augustan Age. This connection had already been made by Julius Caesar in claiming descent from Venus

through Aeneas. In 46 B.C., Caesar had dedicated a temple to *Venus Genetrix*, publicly claiming his descent from the goddess; this his nephew and adopted son Octavian shared, and it was he who gave the games in honour of the completion of the temple (see p. 95). There must in connection with this have been an increased worship of Venus throughout the Empire, and the idea would have been widely spread. Vergil himself had already taken cognizance of Julius Caesar's claims when he was writing the ninth Eclogue (41-40 B.C.<sup>1</sup>):

ecce Dionaëi<sup>2</sup> processit Caesaris astrum,  
Ecl., IX, 47.

and again a few years later of Octavian's similar relationship, where in the first Georgic (written c. 37 B.C.<sup>1</sup>) in the invocation to the already deified Julius he has the line:

cingens materna tempora myrto.<sup>3</sup> Geo., I, 28.

The *Aeneid*'s continual emphasis of the mother and son relationship of Venus and Aeneas (largely made by the use of the epithets *mater* and *nate dea*) must have reminded the Roman reader of Caesar's claim and so have given the poem a valuable contemporary interest. Moreover the reading of the story of Venus and Aeneas in a poem by Vergil would serve to strengthen the popular belief in the divine blood of the ruler (and so no

<sup>1</sup> This is the date assigned to this poem by H. Nettleship in the fourth edition of Conington's *Virgil*.

<sup>2</sup> *Dionaea* is an epithet of Venus in the *Aeneid* (III, 19).,

<sup>3</sup> This line is repeated in the *Aeneid* (V, 72) referring to Aeneas. Cf. *Ecl.*, VII, 62, "formosae myrtus Veneri . .

doubt make that poem even more acceptable to Augustus). That it had some such effect we may conclude from a line of Horace's *Carmen Saeculare* (written in 17 B.C.) which refers to Augustus as

clarus Anchisae Venerisque sanguis.

As a great artist who takes a traditional subject for his picture gives it a new splendour by the superior genius with which he paints it, so Vergil gave Venus additional splendour by his portrayal of her. From the infinite material ready at hand he chose only that which was suited to his poem, and he dealt with it so effectively that the goddess stands out a memorable character, beautiful and lovable, divine.

## ASCANIUS—IULUS

ASCANIUS is mentioned in the *Aeneid* more frequently than any of the other characters except Aeneas, Jupiter, and Turnus. In spite of his youth his rôle is one of great action, and moreover he is kept before the reader as a potential factor in the development of Italy, the founder of Alba Longa, and the first link in the chain between Aeneas and Julius Caesar and Augustus. It is in this connection that he is first mentioned: Jupiter calms Venus' fears for Aeneas by unfolding to her in a prophecy the future greatness of Aeneas' line. He foretells the successful outcome of Aeneas' wars in Italy and the founding of Alba Longa by Ascanius:

at puer Ascanius, cui nunc cognomen Iulo  
additur (Ilus erat, dum res stetit Ilia regno),  
triginta magnos volvendis mensibus orbis  
imperio explebit, regnumque ab sede Lavini  
transferet, et longam multa vi munit Albam.  
hic iam ter centum totos regnabitur annos  
gente sub Hectorea . . . I, 267-273.

He goes on to tell of the founding of Rome and of the rise to power which would reach its zenith under a Caesar, a descendant of Ascanius:

nascetur pulchra Troianus origine Caesar,  
imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris,  
Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo. I, 286-288.



Later in the first book (645-710) when Venus is plotting to substitute Cupid for Ascanius, we are shown the great affection with which the goddess regards her grandson. This, to some extent, supplements the idea already conveyed of his importance for Rome, and by introducing the note of tenderness it leads up to the pathetic picture of Ascanius which is given in the second book.

This pathos in the second book consists almost entirely in the picture of the possible fate of a little child during the burning and sacking of a captured city. It is brought strongly before the reader in the first mention of Ascanius in that book. Aeneas has just told of the death of Priam, and continues:

at me tum primum saevus circumstetit horror.  
obstipui; subiit cari genitoris imago,  
ut regem aequaevum crudeli vulnere vidi  
vitam exhalantem; subiit deserta Creusa  
et direpta domus et parvi casus Iuli.

II, 559-563.

His duty to his family is again brought home to him a few lines later, when Venus is admonishing him:

non prius aspicias ubi fessum aetate parentem  
liqueris Anchisen, superet coniunxne Creusa  
Ascaniusque puer?

II, 596-598.

and when Anchises refuses to leave:

... ut mediis hostem in penetralibus utque  
Ascanium patremque meum iuxtaque Creusam  
alterum in alterius mactatos sanguine cernam?  
arma, viri, ferte arma!

II, 665-668.

Aeneas then starts to return to the fight and once more the probable fate of Iulus is used to restrain him:

ecce autem complexa pedes in limine coniunx  
haerebat, parvumque patri tendebat Iulum:  
"si periturus abis, et nos rape in omnia tecum;

. . . . .  
... cui parvus Iulus,  
cui pater et coniunx quondam tua dicta relinquer?"  
II, 673-678.

As though to reinforce her plea there comes a powerful omen, the tongue of flame hovering over Iulus' head. This reveals to Anchises the favour in which the gods hold his line, and when in response to his prayer Jupiter confirms the omen by a thunder bolt on the left and a shooting star, the old man agrees to leave Troy.

The epithet *parvus* is important in the descriptions of these incidents, for it shows the helplessness of the child. It is used twice more in the book, when Aeneas is planning to escape:

mihi parvus Iulus  
sit comes . . . , II, 710-711.

and a few lines later in the most appealing picture ever drawn by a poet:

. . . dextrae se parvus Iulus  
implicuit sequiturque patrem non passibus aequis.  
II, 723-724.

*Parvus Iulus* has found his way to the reader's heart and prepared a cordial reception for *puer Ascanius*, who takes his place. The child of Troy had already been seen as a young boy in the first book, and it is the latter part

that he plays through the remainder of the poem. In Book III he is twice referred to by Andromache as *puer* (339, 487) and in the latter passage is described as of the same age as Astyanax (*cf. Iliad*, XX, 500b), though what this would have been we have no means of knowing definitely. Heinze (*Vergils Epische Technik*, p. 154), thinks that Vergil meant to portray him in the second book as about four or five, and that after the seven years of wandering, he would be eleven or twelve when at Carthage, and a year older in Latium. Whatever age Vergil had in mind, it is certain that he thought of Ascanius as maturing in years and ability. The epithets *parvus* and *puer* give us the first indication: *parvus*, a term applied only to young children, is used of him only in the second book; *puer*, the official designation of all boys until their seventeenth year, when they assumed the *toga virilis*, is the most frequent epithet of Ascanius in the other books, as can be seen from the list of Ascanius' epithets, Appendix I. That Vergil thought of him as continually growing is shown by the repetition with him of the epithet *surgens*, used in IV, 274, VI, 364, and X, 524. In the fifth book he is spoken of as *impubis* (V, 546), but this adjective could be used with any boy who had not attained the manly gown. He is old enough, and young enough, to lead one line of horse in the *Ludus Troiae*, and when the news of the burning ships is brought to the scene of the games, his youth is once more brought out, combined with his rising responsibility:

primus et Ascanius, cursus ut laetus equestris  
ducebat, sic acer equo turbata petivit  
castra . . .

V, 667-669.

This incident also furnishes the occasion for his first assumption of authority. He rushes to the camp in spite of the efforts of his elders and addresses the frenzied women:

“quis furor iste novus? quo nunc, quo tenditis” inquit,  
 “heu, miserae cives? non hostem inimicaque castra  
 Argivum, vestras spes uritis. en, ego vester  
 Ascanius!” V, 669-672.

The entire episode foreshadows the scenes of Book IX where Ascanius, in his father's absence, takes his place in the council of war:

ante annos animumque gerens curamque virilem.  
 IX, 311.

Another way in which Vergil shows Iulus' development, and incidentally makes him alive, is by the accounts of the boy's fondness for hunting. It is first mentioned in the fourth book, where he is shown joining his elders with the typical boy's desire to kill a lion:

at puer Ascanius mediis in vallibus acri  
 gaudet equo iamque hos cursu, iam praeterit illos,  
 spumantemque dari pecora inter inertia votis  
 optat aprum, aut fulvum descendere monte leonem.  
 IV, 156-159.

It is next mentioned in Book VII when Allecto causes Silvia's pet stag to cross Iulus' course:

. . . quo litore pulcher  
 insidiis cursuque feras agitabat Iulus.  
 VII, 477-478.

The hounds of *venantis Iuli* rouse the stag, and Ascanius himself, *eximiae laudis succensus amore*, shoots the arrow

which makes the disastrous wound. This real hunt "on his own" for real game shows 'considerable development beyond the dream of a lion among the timid herds. The final reference to Ascanius' favourite sport shows that he has earned the right to take his place among men:

tum primum bello celerem intendisse sagittam  
 dicitur ante feras solitus terrere fugacis  
 Ascanius . . . IX, 590-592.

Throughout the rest of the poem he is shown as a boy always desirous of taking a man's part, and sometimes being allowed to do so. After his first success Apollo notices him:

. . . victorem adfatur Iulum:  
 "macte nova virtute, puer, sic itur ad astra,  
 dis genite et geniture deos," IX, 640-642.

and descends to earth to restrain him:

atque his ardentem dictis adfatur Iulum:  
 "sit satis, Aenide, . . .  
 . . . primam hanc tibi magnus Apollo  
 concedit laudem et paribus non invidet armis;  
 cetera parce, puer, bello." IX, 652-656.

The boy's companions recognize the god and therefore

. . . avidum pugnae dictis ac numine Phoebi  
 Ascanium prohibent. . . . IX, 661-662.

Nevertheless the siege, described at the beginning of Book X, finds Ascanius with the defenders on the wall:

ipse inter medios, Veneris iustissima cura,  
 Dardanius caput, ecce, puer detectus honestum,  
 X, 132-133.



and it is he who leads the sally to meet Aeneas:

... tandem erumpunt et castra relinquunt  
Ascanius puer et nequiquam obsessa iuventus.

X, 604-605.

One more instance will suffice to prove Ascanius' development and assumption of responsibility. In Book XII, when Aeneas has been wounded, it is Ascanius who accompanies him from the battle (XII, 385) and who stands by him grieving:

Aeneas magno iuvenum et maerentis Iuli  
concurso, lacrimis immobilis. XII, 399-400.

The care which Vergil spends upon the character of Ascanius and upon the details of his part in the life of Aeneas is equalled by the care with which he reminds the reader of Ascanius' importance to Rome. We have already considered the mention of him in Jupiter's first prophecy (I, 267 ff.) and the omens of flame, thunder, and a shooting star which designate his future greatness (II, 682 ff.). This future is again brought to Aeneas' attention, and to the reader's, in the fourth book. Jupiter instructs Mercury to order Aeneas to leave Carthage, and to tell him of the empire Rome is to hold. He adds:

si nulla accendit tantarum gloria rerum  
nec super ipse sua molitur laude laborem,  
Ascanione pater Romanas invidet arces?

IV, 232-234.

This is duly repeated by Mercury to Aeneas:

si te nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum  
nec super ipse tua moliris laude laborem

Ascanium surgentem et spes heredis Iuli  
 respice, cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus  
 debetur, IV, 272-276.

and it is one of the reasons given by Aeneas to Dido for his departure:

me puer Ascanius capitisque iniuria cari,  
 quem regno Hesperiae fraudo et fatalibus arvis.  
 IV, 354-355.

In the fifth book Vergil refers to Ascanius' future revival of the *Ludus Troiae*:

hunc morem cursus atque haec certamina primus  
 Ascanius, Longam muris cum cingeret Albam,  
 rettulit et priscos docuit celebrare Latinos,  
 quo puer ipse modo, secum quo Troia pubes;  
 Albani docuere suos; hinc maxima porro  
 accepit Roma et patrium servavit honorem.  
 V, 596-601.

In the sixth book, when Anchises is showing to Aeneas what Rome is to be, he speaks of Julius Caesar:

... hic Caesar et omnis Iuli  
 progenies magnum caeli ventura sub axem.  
 VI, 789-790.

In the eighth book the river god Tiber prophesies to Aeneas the founding of Alba Longa by Ascanius:

ex quo ter denis urbem redeuntibus annis  
 Ascanius clari condet cognominis Albam,  
 VIII, 47-48.

and later in the same book, in the description of Aeneas' shield, Ascanius' descendants are mentioned:

... illic genus omne futurae  
stirpis ab Ascanio pugnataque in ordine bella.

VIII, 628-629.

In the ninth book, Apollo addresses Ascanius as (642) *dis genite geniture deos*. In the tenth book in the council of the gods (47) Venus shows her knowledge of the importance of Ascanius by asking for his safety above that of all others. Finally in the twelfth book, Aeneas and Ascanius, riding out to meet Latinus, are thus described:

hinc pater Aeneas, Romanaeque stirpis origo,  
sidereo flagrans clipeo et caelestibus armis  
et iuxta Ascanius, magnae spes altera Romae,  
procedunt castris . . . XII, 166-169.

These prophecies in particular, and the detail with which Ascanius is treated in general, form the most striking contrast between Vergil's *Aeneid* and its extant literary sources. The latter conflict in many places with one another and with the *Aeneid*, and where they do not conflict they are exasperatingly vague. Yet to understand Vergil's purpose and his art, they must be considered somewhat in detail.

In Homer there is no mention of any son of Aeneas, except in Poseidon's prophecy,

νῦν δὲ δὴ Ἀινείας βίη Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει  
καὶ παίδων παῖδες τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται,  
Il., XX, 307-308.

foretelling the supremacy of Aeneas' house, and though there are three Ascaniuses in the *Iliad*, all of them on the side of Troy, none of them are relatives of Aeneas. How his son came to be known as Ascanius and where

is not certain, but Greek literature after Homer seems to know him as such. Also the vase paintings show him holding Aeneas' hand and trudging after him during the escape from Troy. Nowhere, however, in Greek sources is it made clear that Ascanius accompanied Aeneas to Italy. Rather is he shown as returning to the Troad to rule over the remnants of the Trojans, and thus to fulfil Poseidon's prophecy (cf. Fr. Cauer, *Die Römische Aeneaslegend von Naevius bis Vergilius*, p. 108, n. 12).

On the Latin side the only references to Ascanius that we have prior to the Augustan age are in the *Origines* of Cato (c. 149 B.C.) and the *Annales* of L. Cassius Hemina (c. 140 B.C.).<sup>1</sup> Cato says (Peter, *Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae*, 1914, Vol. I, p. 58; Servius, *ad Aen.*, I, 267):

... Aeneas Turnusque pariter rapti sunt. migrasse postea in Ascanium et Mezentium bella, sed eos singulari certamine dimicasse, et occisso Mezentio Ascanium Iulum coeptum vocari a prima barbae lanugine, quae ei tempore victoriae nascebatur;

and (Peter, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 59; Serv., *ad Aen.*, VI. 670):

... Mezentium interemit Ascanius et Larolavinium tenuit. cuius Lavinia timens insidias gravida confugit ad silvas et latuit in casa pastoris Tyrrhi. —et illic enixa est Silvium. sed cum Ascanius

<sup>1</sup> Cauer (*op. cit.*, p. 108) implies that Q. Fabius Pictor made Aeneas' son the founder of Alba Longa, and that this son's name was Ascanius. Peter (H.R.R.) gives no justification for this. He quotes, from Syncellus, Fabius Pictor's account of the naming of Alba Longa from the prodigy of the white sow. Syncellus gives Pictor's account in opposition to his own—the founding of Alba by Ascanius who named it "Alba from the river, then called Alba but now Tiber."

flagraret invidia, evocavit novercam et concessit Larolavinium, sibi vero Albam constituit. qui quoniam sine liberis periit Silvio qui et ipse Ascanius dictus est, suum reliquit imperium.—postea Albani omnes reges Silvii dicti sunt ab huius nomine;

and (Peter, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 60.; Serv. auctus, *ad Aen.*, I, 269):

Cato ait, triginta annis expletis eum [Ascanium] Albam condidisse.

Cassius Hemina says (Peter, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 99; Schol. Veron., *ad Aen.*, II, 717):

Ilio capto < Aeneas cum dis pena > tibus umeris inpositis erupisse duosque filios Ascanium et Eurybaten bracchio eius innixos ante ora hostium praetergressos.

If there had been further and more complete discussions of Ascanius, the ancient commentators on the *Aeneid* would almost certainly have recorded them as they have those about Aeneas himself, and so we may conclude that Ascanius played little part in the literature before the Augustan age. This is readily explained by the fact that the Romans themselves gave little importance to him, because they connected themselves with Troy through the Alban kings, and, like Cato, considered the Alban kings descendants of Aeneas and Lavinia through their son Silvius Aeneas (*cf.* Varro, Peter, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 21, 36; Schwegler, *Römische Geschichte*, Vol. I, p. 337). There was a vague tradition that Aeneas had been accompanied from Troy by a son, and to explain the failure of this son to succeed to his



father's power Cato allowed him to die without issue, and, to be safe, endowed his half-brother with his name, Ascanius. This vagueness about Ascanius is reflected in Vergil's contemporaries.

Livy in one place (I, 1, 11) says that Ascanius was the son of Aeneas by Lavinia, and later discussing his succession to the throne says (I, 3, 2):

Haud ambigam—quis enim rem tam veterem pro certo adfirmet?—hicine fuerit Ascanius an maior quam hic Creusa matre Ilio incolumi natus comesque inde paternae fugae, quem Iulum eundem Iulia gens auctorem nominis sui nuncupat. Is Ascanius ubicumque et quacumque matre genitus—certe natum Aenea constat . . . novam [urbem] ipse aliam sub Albano monte condidit, quae ab situ porrectae in dorso urbis Longa Alba appellata.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who claims to have studied all available sources, definitely states (I, 47, 54) that Ascanius returned to Troy and (I, 65) that the name of a son of Aeneas and Creusa, Euryalus, was changed to Ascanius during the flight to Italy. It was this Euryalus-Ascanius who founded Alba Longa (I, 66) and it was his son, Iulus, who contested the succession with Silvius Aeneas (I, 70). This presumption of two Ascaniuses and a son of one of them allowed Dionysius to harmonize the Greek and Latin legends. That he felt it necessary to do this shows the existence of doubts and disputes of the kind which Livy despaired of answering.

The moot points here are:—(1) Did Ascanius come to Italy? Greek sources say no; Latin say yes; Dionysius compromises; Vergil gives positive details. (2) Was

Ascanius the son of Creusa or Lavinia? Homer gives no help; Cato and Cassius Hemina say the former; Dionysius supposes two Ascaniuses, both sons of Creusa; Livy first calls him Lavinia's son and later admits his ignorance; Vergil agrees with Cato and Cassius. (3) Who succeeded to the rule of Alba Longa? Cato says Ascanius died childless; Dionysius says Ascanius' son contested the rule with his half-uncle Silvius, failed, and was compensated by a priesthood; Livy says that whose-soever son Ascanius was, his son succeeded to the rule; Vergil says Silvius Aeneas and his descendants ruled at Alba.

This statement (VI, 760-787) has been held by many scholars to conflict with the prophecies of the greatness of Ascanius' line. W. Kroll ("Studien über die Komposition der Aeneis," *Fleckeisens Jhbb.*, Supplement Bd. 27, 1900, p. 137) says Vergil either did not notice a contradiction or forgot to remove it. A. Gercke ("Die Analyse als Grundlage der höheren Kritik," *Neue Jhbb.*, 1901, p. 111) says that the lines about Silvius Aeneas and his descendants are a remnant of an earlier draft. Hertzberg (cited by E. Norden, "Vergils Aeneis im Lichte ihrer Zeit," *Neue Jhbb.*, 1901, p. 277) says that the contradiction is one of the points which Vergil would have cleared up had he lived. Norden (*op. cit.*, p. 277 f.) shows the differences in the legends indicated by Livy, and mentions the passages in the *Aeneid* in which Iulus is called the founder of Alba and of the Julian line. He summarizes the passage of the sixth book (756 f.) which speaks of Silvius Aeneas as *regem regumque parentem . . . unde genus Longa nostrum dominabitur Alba*. He then takes issue with Gebhardi and Heyne who say that nothing in this passage prevents Silvius

from being the successor of Ascanius. So he also finds a contradiction. For this he offers two solutions, one that Vergil was drawing from different sources when he wrote the conflicting passages, another that he was endeavouring to effect a compromise. This compromise, he says (p. 279), is to let part of the Alban kings be Trojan and part Italian descendants of Aeneas. In making some of them Trojans he says that Vergil followed a source of which we have no knowledge. He adds that in general it was difficult to legitimize the Julian dynasty, and quotes Dionysius' attempt to do so by giving the son of Ascanius a priesthood in Alba.

Heinze (*Epische Technik*, p. 155, n.1) considers all of these discussions and makes the following statements: that Vergil assigns the founding of Alba to Ascanius but makes the rule of Alba after him *gente sub Hectorea*, not *sub Iuli gente*; that Vergil never asserts or denies that Ascanius was the founder of the Alban line of kings; that in the later Alban line Vergil follows the Roman official opinion; that Iulus could not be shown by Anchises to Aeneas because he had already been born; that the Julii had never claimed to be descended from the Alban kings.

It is possible to combine the opinions of Norden and Heinze and so, perhaps, to arrive at Vergil's true purpose. First it is necessary to point out that Vergil must have realized the problem presented by Ascanius. We know from our consideration of other characters that our author studied all of his sources and that he took them into consideration. There is no reason to suppose that he would not do this in the case of Ascanius, who plays such an important part in the poem, and if he did he must have seen how the sources conflicted, one with another. Also he was necessarily familiar with the claims

of the Julii, and even if he were not going to endorse them he would at least not have opposed them.

The Julii, as Heinze says, never claimed descent from the Alban kings, but they did from Venus and Anchises through Aeneas and Ascanius. Vergil, like all of his Latin sources, literary and historical, says that Ascanius founded Alba, and that a Silvius whose mother or grandmother was Lavinia succeeded to the rule. Therefore he is faced with the problem of allowing Iulus to have descendants who did not inherit his power. He solves this by a compromise, but not, I believe, by the one Norden suggests. The method he adopts is to refer continually to Ascanius as founder of Alba Longa, and to Ascanius' descendants as men who should be great, giving as examples only Julius Caesar and Augustus. That is, he makes no specific reference to the Julian line between the founder and Caesar. In addition to this lack of particular reference, he seems to take pains to draw a parallel between Ascanius and Lavinia, and between the late descendants of the former and the early ones of the latter. It seems to be in accord with this policy that Vergil gives to both Ascanius (II, 682 ff.) and Lavinia (VII, 70ff.) the omen of fire about the head, an omen that we know, from Livy's description of Servius Tullius (I, 39), portended greatness. Further, in each case the omen brought about a decision important to the future of the race, Anchises deciding to leave Troy, and Latinus to welcome Aeneas. Similarly a study of the prophecies of the greatness of Aeneas' line shows a remarkable tendency on Vergil's part to parallel the descendants of Lavinia and those of Iulus. Jupiter in his prophecy to Venus (I, 257 ff.) foretells Aeneas' wars in Italy, the founding of Alba by Ascanius, the rule there

*gente sub Hectorea* (as Heinze has remarked, not *sub Iuli gente*), the founding of Rome and its rule. Then in line 283 there is the brief phrase *sic placitum*, which seems to sum up the preceding lines and to make a definite break. There follows the prophecy of the greatness of

Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo. I, 288.

In the much discussed passage where Anchises shows his successors to Aeneas (VI, 756 ff.), Silvius, son of Lavinia and Aeneas, is the first to appear. He is described as:

. . . regem regumque parentem,  
unde genus Longa nostrum dominabitur Alba.

VI, 765-766.

(This does not conflict with Ascanius' founding of Alba, as Heinze has shown.) Next comes Procas, *Troianae gloria gentis*. There is no need to deduce from this description that Procas is a descendant of Ascanius; many Roman families considered themselves Trojans, and few claimed descent from Creusa's son. The line of Alban and Roman kings holds the field until line 788, and here comes a definite break. Anchises says:

huc geminas nunc flecte acies, hanc aspice gentem  
Romanosque tuos. hic Caesar et omnis Iuli  
progenies magnum caeli ventura sub axem;

VI, 788-790.

*huc*, "look hither"—*i.e.*, away from the descendants of Lavinia whom you have been considering; *nunc*, "now," opposed to what immediately preceded; *hanc gentem* "this race," not the other; *hic Caesar et omnis Iuli progenies*, "this race, Caesar and all the other descendants of Iulus." Rarely has an author taken so much pains to point



out a transition, and never has one been so misunderstood.

In the description of the shield made by Vulcan for Aeneas, there is a similar parallel implied, though not so strongly. The description opens:

illic res Italas Romanorumque triumphos  
 haud vatum ignarus venturique inscius aevi  
 fecerat ignipotens, illic genus omne futurae  
 stirpis ab Ascanio pugnataque in ordine bella,  
 VIII, 626-629.

and continues to discuss first early Roman history, and then Augustus' (*stirps ab Ascanio*) victory at Actium. That is, Vergil carries out the division suggested by the *illic*—*illic* of the opening lines.

These passages, taken with those which affirm the founding of Alba by Ascanius and his succession to Aeneas' power, and with those which say that Caesar and Augustus were his descendants, give Vergil's answer to the problem. He insists alike upon these points and upon the place in Roman history of the descendants of Lavinia and Aeneas, and he avoids controversy by not indicating the individual members of the Julian line between Ascanius and Caesar.

As Norden says, we do not know the source upon which Vergil based the descent of the Caesars from Ascanius. We have, however, a very strong clue to it. Livy speaks of an Ascanius whom the Caesars called Iulus, and it seems that one of the Caesars must have been Vergil's authority. How early the Julian gens claimed descent from Venus through Aeneas and Ascanius-Iulus it is impossible to say. The antiquity of the name Julius is testified by a very ancient altar found near Bovillae, which is inscribed on one side with

*Vedovei patrei gentiles Iulei*, and on the other *Leege Albana dicata* (CIL, I, 807; Klausen, *Aeneas und die Penaten*, Vol. II, p. 1084b). The cognomen Iulus was used as early as 489 B.C., when Gaius Iulius Iulus was consul (Sihler, *Caesar*, p. 2), and it continued regularly in the family down to C. Iulius Iulus, who was dictator in 352 B.C. (Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, Vol. III, pp. 113, 118). After this there is no notice of the family until the year 208 B.C., when it emerges from its dark ages in the person of Sextus Julius Caesar, the praetor (Drumann, *op. cit.*). From then on there is a continuous line of Julius Caesars down to the dictator.

It is probable that the later branch of the family were direct descendants of the earlier, and this is indicated by the fact (which so far as I know no ancient or modern historian has noticed) that the best derivation of the name Iulus makes it mean "hairy" (Cato *ap. Serv., ad Aen.*, I, 267), and that of Caesar makes it also mean "hairy," or "born with hair" (V. Flaccus, cited by Sihler, *op. cit.*, p. 3). The natural place for the claim that Ascanius was also called Iulus would be among the earlier members of the family who bore that cognomen. However, the first record of the claim to Venus as an ancestress comes upon a coin struck in 134 B.C. by a certain Sextus Julius Caesar, then master of the mint (Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, Vol. II, p. 3), which has the image of *Venus Genetrix* on the reverse. This Sextus Julius Caesar was probably a cousin of Caesar's grandfather, and it was the line of this distant relation which continued the claims. L. Julius Caesar, nephew of the man who struck the coin and consul in 90 B.C., is mentioned as a benefactor of Ilium in an inscription found in the Troad (Dörpfeld,

*Troja und Ilion*, Vol. II, p. 454), as is also his son, consul in 64 B.C. (Dörpfeld, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 455). The latter in addition struck a coin with *Venus Genetrix* on the reverse (Babelon, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 5).

The distant relationship of these men to Julius Caesar the dictator may have been the reason why his contemporaries poked fun at him for his claims to descent from Venus (Suet., *Caes.*, 49; Cic., *ad Fam.*, VIII, 15, 2; *cf.* Edw. Fiddes, "Beginnings of Caesar Worship,"<sup>1</sup> p. 93). At any rate, he had made his claim as early as 67 B.C. in the funeral oration upon his aunt (Suet., *Caes.*, VI), and he continued it throughout his life (*cf.* below, p. 93). Perhaps it was the great Julius Caesar, so anxious about his antecedents, who, connecting his line with the Iulius Iuli, first identified Ascanius and Iulus (*cf.* Serv., *ad Aen.*, I, 267).

The independent Livy, as we have seen, almost flouts the claim, and in Cato alone of the sources is the identification made.<sup>2</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus (I, 70) and Strabo (V, 229; XIII, 607), both more in fear of Augustus than Livy, dodge the question; the former calling Iulus a son of Ascanius, the latter, vaguely, "one of the descendants of Aeneas." It is interesting to see that Strabo (V, 229) gives the same derivation of the name Iulus that Vergil does:

Iulus Ilus erat dum res stetit Ilia regno.<sup>3</sup> I, 268.

<sup>1</sup> In *Historical Essays by Members of the Owens College*, Manchester, 1902.

<sup>2</sup> This lack of support makes one wonder if Servius is reporting Cato correctly. W. Kroll (*op. cit.*, p. 137, n. 1) says, "one must conclude from Servius that Cato did not know the name (Iulus)." I wish Kroll had given his reasons, for there seems to be no more cause to challenge this than any other of Servius' many quotations. Preller apparently thought the passage belonged to Cato.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Leaf in his new book *Strabo in the Troad*, p. 145 f., has a very interesting discussion of this point.

Vergil, in the face of these rather weighty opinions, follows the authority of the Julian gens, and by the constant use of the cognomen Iulus for Ascanius, maintains his position. He uses Iulus for Ascanius thirty-five times, only six times fewer than he uses the name Ascanius itself. Metrical convenience is no doubt responsible for part of this frequency (see p. 10). Vergil did not like to use choriambic words such as *Ascanius*, -  $\bar{\cup} \cup$  - (the last syllable must be long by case or position to fit in the hexameter), except in feet 1-4, probably because of the necessary clash of accent and ictus in such words. Conversely he did not like to use words in which there was a necessary harmony of accent and ictus, such as Iulus,  $\cup \acute{-}$  -, except in feet 5-6. Professor E. H. Sturtevant (*Classical Philology*, Vol. XIV, p. 378) has figured that in Vergil's verse 28.06 per cent. of the words in feet 1-4 require clash, and only 6.66 per cent. require harmony of accent and ictus, 39.46 per cent. are indifferent, and 25.21 per cent. are monosyllables. In feet 5-6, 5.09 per cent. are monosyllables, 46.54 per cent. indifferent, only .77 per cent. require clash, while 46.54 per cent. require harmony. In the light of these figures, it is not surprising to find that only once does Vergil use Ascanius outside of the first two feet (the last syllable, of course, carrying over into the third foot) and this is in the third foot (the last syllable forming the first of the fourth), and that only once (XII, 185, where it comes in the second foot) is Iulus used except in the last place in the line. Another metrical reason for Vergil's frequent use of Iulus is that the hexameter does not admit the ordinary genitive of Ascanius, *Ascani* (-  $\cup$  -), whereas it does that of Iulus, *Iuli* ( $\cup$  - -). Accordingly we find no genitives of the former, while there are sixteen of the latter.

However, mere metrical convenience would not have induced a poet of Vergil's calibre to alter tradition, and so we must conclude certainly that in the case of Ascanius-Iulus, as probably in the cases of Venus and Aeneas, the *Aeneid* intentionally endorsed the claims of Augustus and his foster father.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> How influential it was, in this instance at least, may be judged from Ovid's referring to Ascanius as *binominis* in the lines (*Metamorphoses*, XIII, 609-610):

Inde sub Ascanii divine binominis Alba  
resque Latina fuit.

Most editors take *binominis* here with *Ascanii*, but I notice that Mr. Miller in the Loeb Library edition translates, "the state was of double name." The former interpretation is reinforced by the fact that a few lines before Ovid has used Iulus for Ascanius.

## AENEAS

THE man whom Vergil chose to be the hero of the *Aeneid* had a character already well established by literature and legend. Aeneas had been given a prominent part in the *Iliad* by Homer, and later writers, Greek and Roman, had woven many stories about him.<sup>1</sup> The epithets which Vergil uses with Aeneas in the *Aeneid* naturally reflect this earlier literature. They may be divided roughly into eight classes : (1) Those which depend on his human relations, *e.g.*, *Anchisiades*. (2) Those which depend on his divine blood, *e.g.*, *nate dea*. (3) Those which depend on his Trojan blood, *e.g.*, *Troianus*. (4) Those which depend on his bravery, fame, and prowess, *e.g.*, *maximus armis*. (5) Those which depend on his personal appearance, *e.g.*, *pulcherrimus*. (6) Those which depend upon his position as a leader, *e.g.*, *ductor*. (7) Those which depend on his piety and moral goodness, *e.g.*, *pius*. (8) Those which depend on the rôle assigned him by Fate, *e.g.*, *Romanae stirpis origo*.

The background for almost all of these epithets, and the prototypes of many of them, may be found in the *Iliad* itself. (1) He is spoken of as *Αἰνείας τ' Ἀγχισιάδης* (XVII, 754). (2) He is known as the child of Anchises and Venus (II, 820) *Αἰνείας, τὸν ὑπ' Ἀγχίσῃ τέκε δὲ Ἀφροδίτῃ*. (3) He is spoken of as leading

<sup>1</sup> See Cauer, *op. cit.*



the Trojans (II, 819) Δαρδανίων αὐτ ἦρχεν εὖς παῖς Ἀγχίσαιο. (4) He and Idomeneus are called (XII, 499-500) δύο ἄνδρες Ἀρήιοι ἄλλων Αἰνείαν τὲ Ἰδομενεὺς ἀτάλαντοι Ἀρηι. (5) There seems to be no reference in the *Iliad* to his appearance. (6) He is called ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν, (V, 311,) and Τρώων ἀγός (V, 217). (7) Poseidon says of him (XX, 297-299),

οὗτος ἀναίτιος ἄλγεα πάσχει  
μὰ ψ ἔνεκ' ἄλλοτρίων ἀχέων, κεχαρισμένα δ' αἰεὶ  
δῶρα Θεοῖσι δίδωσι τοὶ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν.

(8) Poseidon says later (XX, 307-308),

νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείας βίη Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει  
καὶ παίδων παῖδες τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται.

Such a character as the epithets show Aeneas to be fits perfectly in an epic. He is noble, semi-divine, a leader of men, handsome, brave, pious, and a man of destiny. Most important of these qualities for the action of the *Aeneid* is his ability as a leader. Therefore it is not surprising to find that the epithets depending on his leadership make the most numerous of the above classes. Second in number are those referring to his Trojan blood, a fact prominent in the legend and important to the plot of the *Aeneid*, which establishes the wanderers' right to a home in Italy by means of their Trojan blood. Third in number are those which depend on the hero's piety. This, too, is important in the plot, which is strengthened by having a hero who deserves well of the gods opposed by a goddess (see above, p. 30). Fourth in number are those which depend on his prowess, a quality which is naturally stressed in a poem in which there is so much fighting. Fifth in number are those

which depend on his divine relations, especially those with Venus. The emphasis on these is due to the part which Venus as his champion plays in the poem (see above, p. 44). Sixth are those which depend on his human relations, especially with Anchises. These occur mainly in Books III, V, and VI, which deal respectively with the part of the journey in which Anchises is still alive, with the funeral games in honour of Anchises, and with the visit to Anchises in the lower world. The comparatively small number (three) of epithets referring to Aeneas' appearance reflects the fact that Aeneas is not described in the *Iliad*. The equally small number referring to the rôle assigned him by Fate is probably due to the fact that this is dealt with in extended prophecies (e.g., those of Jupiter in Book I, of Helenus in Book III, of the Sibyl and Anchises in Book VI).

Although the requirements of tradition and plot explain Vergil's choice of all the epithets he uses with Aeneas, they do not explain the extraordinary number of times he repeats *natus* (especially in the combination *nate dea*), *pater*, and *pius*. *Natus* is used sixteen times, meaning "son of Anchises," and nineteen times, meaning "son of Venus" (eleven times in the combination *nate dea*.) *Pater* is used thirty-two times, and *pius* twenty times. There are also three complex epithets which have *pietas* as their main element. Such specialization seems to imply a purpose on the part of the author.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The use of *vir* twenty-three times is not important. Eight of its occurrences are in the Dido episode, where it seems to have the meaning suggested in the line *et arma viri thalamo quae fixa reliquit | impius* (IV, 495). This may be an evidence of the influence of erotic poetry on Vergil's vocabulary (cf. De Witt, *op. cit.*, p. 70). Three times it means "mortal man" as distinct respectively from priestess, shades, and gods (VI, 415, 490; X, 82). Once it certainly means husband, when Aeneas speaks of the lost Creusa (II, 744) *comites natumque virumque fefellit*, and it may mean husband in VIII, 13,

What this purpose was is complicated in the case of *pater* and *pius* by doubt as to the actual meaning Vergil wished to convey by the words. *Pater* is less involved in previous discussion, and its meaning more evident from its use than *pius*, and so is perhaps best dealt with first.

*Pater* is used in the *Aeneid* with gods and rulers apparently as a title, and with both gods and men in the sense of *parens*. When it is used with Anchises and Aeneas, its meaning is complicated because they play such important parts both as rulers and as parents, Anchises of Aeneas and Aeneas of Ascanius. In the case of Anchises it is particularly hard to differentiate between the two meanings, because most of his part in the *Aeneid* is told through the lips of Aeneas. Yet only three times does *pater Anchises* seem to mean predominantly "Anchises, father of Aeneas;" this relation is usually expressed by *genitor* or *parens* (the former used nineteen times, the latter twelve). The fact that Vergil uses *genitor* and *parens* to express the parental relation indicates that *pater* generally means "sire" (leader) when used with Anchises, as it does when used with the gods, Jupiter and Apollo, the heroes, Inachus, Daunius, and Ilus, and the king, Latinus. This interpretation is reinforced by the fact that the most frequent use of *pater Anchises* (six times) is in the third book where he is the leader of the expedition.

*multasque viro se adiungere gentis* | *Dardanio*. The remaining ten times *vir* is used it seems to be merely pronominal, as in the speech of Ilioneus to Dido:

rex erat Aeneas nobis, quo iustior alter  
nec pietate fuit, nec bello maior et armis.  
quem si fata virum servant . . .

I, 544 ff.

The pronominal meaning also seems to dominate in *vir* when it is applied to the eleven other characters with which it is used.

Leadership is the essential idea behind the epithet *pater* as applied to Aeneas, as we shall see. First, however, let us consider its meaning as "father of Ascanius." This is predominant in eleven out of the thirty-two occurrences of *pater* referring to Aeneas. Of these eleven it is important to note that eight are in antonomasia, and only three in combination with the name Aeneas. In Book III Andromache speaks of Ascanius:

ecquid in antiquam virtutem animosque virilis  
et pater Aeneas et avunculus excitat Hector?

III, 342-343.

and the line is repeated in XII, 440, where Aeneas is advising Ascanius to follow his example. The other occurrence is in V, 545, where *pater Aeneas* sends a messenger to summon Ascanius, and here *pater* might well be used in the sense of leader.

Vergil makes clear the meaning "leader" in the first occurrence of the phrase *pater Aeneas*. This is in Ilioneus' speech to Dido:

sin absumpta salus, et te, pater optime Teucrum,  
pontus habet Libyae . . .

. . . regemque petamus Acesten.

I, 555 ff.

Here *pater optime Teucrum*—Aeneas—is considered the leader *par excellence*, and if he proves to be lost Acestes—*rex*—will be sought as his substitute. In like manner twenty-five lines later, after Dido has welcomed the storm-tossed fugitives, Vergil applies the epithet to Aeneas, picturing him trying to break out of his cloud and take his rightful place. Similarly in the beginning of Book II, where Aeneas, the leader and guardian of the

strangers, begins to tell the tale of their wanderings, he is appropriately called *pater*. The most frequent occurrence of the combination is in Book V, where Aeneas as leader is presiding over the games. In Book IX there is another clear example of this meaning of *pater* used as an epithet:

instat Mnestheus acerque Serestus,  
quos pater Aeneas, si quando adversa vocarent,  
rectores iuvenum et rerum dedit esse magistros.

IX, 171-173.

Here Aeneas, absent on his journey to seek Evander's aid, has delegated his powers.

The meaning of *pius* is harder to determine than that of *pater*, and as it has a more important bearing on both the character of the hero and the plot of the poem it has been more discussed. The authorities who have dealt with the question are so great that it seems best to quote some of them in detail.

Servius (*ad Aen.*, I, 378) has a naïve and amusing comment:

“Sum pius Aeneas” non est hoc loco arrogantia, sed indicium. nam scientibus aliquid de se dicere arrogantia est, ignotis indicium. aut certe heroum secutus est morem, quibus quam mentiri turpe fuerat, tam vera reticere. denique Ulixes in Homero ait suam famam ad caelum usque venisse: unde et iste “fama super aethera notus.” aut certe vetuste pietatem pro religione posuit. Sallustius in *Catilina* verum illi delubra deum pietate, domus suas gloria decorabant. Plautus in *Pseudolo* non potest pietati obsisti huic ututi res sunt ceterae, deos quidem, quos maxime est aequum metuere, eos minimi facit. sane “pius” potest esse et purus et innocens et omni



*carens scelere. piare enim antiqui purgare dicebant; inde etiam piamina, quibus expurgant homines, et qui purgati non sunt impii. "raptos qui ex hoste penates" hoc est sum pius.*

Heyne in an excursus on these lines (No. 12 to Bk. I) says that it is right for Aeneas to call himself *pius* according to the heroic standard though not according to ours. He goes on to say that Vergil gives the epithet *pius* to Aeneas as in Homer to each character there is joined its appropriate epithet. He adds that Aeneas was *pius in patrem, in filium, in patriam et in deos*; that in the last respect, *pius in deos*, the poet meant to call his hero Θεοσεβής or "religious," which meaning is justified in I, 378, by the relative clause.

Henry in his *Aeneidea* (Vol. I, 647), after pointing out rather aptly the parallel of the modern sovereign, who in signing public documents designates himself as "most gracious" and "defender of the faith," adds that the meaning of the epithet has been imperfectly understood, and refers to his own note on *insignem pietate* (*op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 475). Here he has collected many examples to show that *pietas* might be used in relation to ones country, ones family, and ones fellow human-beings; that it contains the ideas expressed by both of its English derivatives, "pity" and "piety." In the former sense he says that it is the equivalent of the Greek εὐσέβεια, in the latter sense, of the Greek Θεοσέβεια, and that it was the former virtue—pity—which Vergil wished to attribute to Aeneas. He ends his ten-page discussion thus: "The virtue therefore for which Aeneas was so remarkable, which it was the scope of Vergil's poem to recommend and inculcate by the example of his



hero, was not piety or devotion, but *pietas*, or tenderness and brotherly love to mankind."

Conington, in his introduction to the *Aeneid*, says: "We are wearied it must be confessed by being continually reminded of his piety, though this may be partly due to our misapprehension of the epithet which was doubtless meant to be an Homeric one, attached to the name as a sort of prefix, and to be taken as a matter of course; but his piety is not merely nominal; it shows itself in his whole feeling and conduct toward the gods, his father, and his son."

Heinze (*Vergils Epische Technik*, pp. 29-30) says that Vergil took from the legendary tale of Aeneas at the fall of Troy only the characteristic *εὐσέβεια*. Later (p. 33) he adds: "More important than deeds of arms for Vergil was the deed of *pietas* upon which above all his fame rested; the saving of his father from the burning city." And (p. 299): "Aeneas' greatness lies somewhat in his prowess but especially in his *pietas*, and this shows itself most clearly in the submission to the divine will—in the fall of Troy, in the loss of Creusa, in the separation from Dido." About the use of the epithet *pious* he says (*op. cit.*, p. 278): "Vergil is not sparing in his use of characteristic epithets—*pious Aeneas*, *Mezentius contemptor divum*, *Messapus acer*—but he follows in their use the epic tradition; he does not beguile us with the epithets, but holds himself to confirming them in the plot."

Professor Glover (*Virgil*, p. 266), after a discussion of Aeneas' relations with his family and his associates, concludes: "If to Terence's 'humani nihil a me alienum puto' we might add 'nihil divini,' the enlarged expression (if rather cumbrous) would fairly represent the new attitude of the quickened man with which Vergil en-

dows his hero, giving it the name *pietas* by which he links a modern and rather Greek habit of mind to an old Roman virtue enlarging the one and naturalizing the other."

All of these discussions except Glover's stress the use of the epithet as an Homeric one, and all of them, including Glover's, give to the epithet an extremely broad meaning. We have already seen (above, pp. 3-4, 6-7) that Vergil's use of epithets is far more conscious and far more artistic than Homer's, and I believe we may discard any idea that the epithet is merely Homeric. It remains first to discover, if possible, more definitely what our author wished to convey by *pius* and *pietas*, and then in the light of the meaning to discover his reasons, both in relation to his plot and to the purpose of the *Aeneid*, for its extensive use.

To see what Vergil really meant it is necessary to consider the characterization of Aeneas in the sources from which he drew. Homer always emphasizes the descent of Aeneas from Jove and Aphrodite, and at least once mentions his observance of religious rites. In the *Iliad* Poseidon speaks of him:

ἀναίτιος ἄλγεα πάσχει  
μάψ' ἔνεκ' ἀλλοτρίων ἀχέων, κεχαρισμένα δ' αἰεὶ  
δῶρα Θεοῖσι δίδωσι τοὶ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν.

XX, 297-299.

("Aeneas who rashly suffers for others and always gives most pleasing gifts to the gods, who hold sway over the broad heaven.")

Later, after Poseidon has rescued him from Achilles, the son of Peleus says of him:

ἦρά καὶ Αἰνείας φίλος ἀθανάτοισι Θεοῖσιν  
ἦεν. XX, 347-348.  
("Surely Aeneas was dear to the immortal  
gods.")

Later Greek writers went even farther in this direction than Homer, and were perhaps even more important in determining Vergil's choice of an epithet, for there is, of course, nothing in the *Iliad* about his escape from Troy or his later wanderings. Xenophon in his *de Venatione* (I, 15) has the following:

Αἰνείας δὲ σώσας μὲν τοὺς πατρώους καὶ μητρώους  
Θεοὺς, σώσας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν πατέρα, δόξαν εὐσε-  
βείας ἐξηνέγκατο ὥστε καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι μόνῳ ἐκείνῳ  
ὧν ἐκράτησαν ἐν Τροίᾳ ἔδωσα μὴ συληθῆναι.

("Aeneas saving his paternal and maternal gods and saving his father gave such an exhibition of piety that the enemy allowed him alone of all those whom they captured in Troy to escape.")

*Εὐσέβεια* is here shown as an outstanding feature of Aeneas' character, and there is another indication that it was always so considered. Aelian, who although he wrote in the second century must have drawn from early Greek sources, describes Aeneas (*Varia Historia*, III, 22) as follows:

Ὅτε ἐάλω τὸ Ἴλιον, οἰκτεῖραντες οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ τὰς  
τῶν ἀλισκομένων τύχας καὶ πάνυ Ἑλληνικῶς τοῦτο  
ἐκήρυξαν: ἕκαστον τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἐν ὅτι καὶ βούλεται  
τῶν οἰκείων ἀποφέρειν ἀράμενον. ὁ οὖν Αἰνέας τοὺς  
πατρώους Θεοὺς βαστάσας ἔφερεν, ὑπεριδὼν τῶν  
ἄλλων. ἡσθέντες οὖν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εὐσεβείᾳ,  
οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ δεύτερον αὐτῷ κτήμα συνεχώρησαν

λαβεῖν. ὁ δὲ τὸν πατέρα πάνυ σφόδρα γεγηρακότα ἀναθεμένον τοῖς ὤμοις ἔφερεν. ὑπερεκπλάγεντες οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ οὐκ ἤκιστα πάντων αὐτῷ τῶν οἰκείων κτημάτων ἀπέστησαν, ὁμολογοῦντες ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοὺς Θεοὺς καὶ τοὺς γειναμένους δι' αἰδοῦς ἄγοντας καὶ οἱ φύσει πολέμιοι ἡμεροὶ γιγόνται.

("When Troy was captured, the Achaeans, having the most pity of all the Greeks for the fate of the conquered, made this announcement, that each one of the free men might pick up any one thing he wished of his private possessions and carry it out. Aeneas, taking up his paternal gods, carried them out, ignoring other things. The Greeks were so pleased at the piety of the man that they allowed him to remove another possession. Lifting his old father up on his shoulders, he took him out. Even more astounded by this, they gave him all of his possessions, agreeing that even those who were enemies by nature were softened towards pious men who treated with respect the gods and their parents.")

Similarly Apollodorus says (*Epitoma Vaticana*, XXII, 19):

Αἰνείας δὲ Ἀγχίστην τὸν πατέρα βαστάσας ἔφυγεν, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν εὐσεβείαν εἴασαν.

("Aeneas carrying his father on his shoulders fled, and the Greeks allowed him to escape on account of his piety.")

In all of these the saving of his father is given as an instance of Aeneas' εὐσέβεια, but this in itself as a

charitable act was apparently considered as part of one's sacred duty to the gods. The meaning which Henry wishes to give to it exclusively, "relation to men and things of this world," is an impossible one. In the *Euthyphro*, which Plato devotes to a discussion of the meaning of εὐσέβεια, the actual definition is hidden in a maze of dialogue, but Heidel in his edition of the *Euthyphro* says (Introduction, p. 21): "This then is the definition, 12 E: 'τὸ μέρος τοῦ δικαίου εἶναι εὐσεβές τε καὶ ὁσιον, τὸ περὶ τὴν τῶν Θεῶν θεραπείαν' (piety and holiness is that part of justice which has to do with the service of the gods). Socrates however calls attention to the vagueness of the term 'θεραπεία' and Euthyphro substitutes 'ὑπερετική' for it. Later on Socrates refers to it as 'αὕτη ἡ ὑπερεσία τοῖς θεοῖς' (actual ministration to the gods)."

In this connection the emphasis placed on the saying of the Penates is important, because it bears out the meaning given by Plato to εὐσέβεια. It is also important because it is part of the story as told by many Roman writers before Vergil.<sup>1</sup> Naevius (c. 200 B.C.), L. Cassius Hemina (c. 150 B.C.), Varro (died B.C. 28), all mention the Penates. Finally Dionysius of Halicarnassus (who wrote at least the early books of his *Ῥωμαικὴ Ἀρχαιολογία* while Vergil was still working on the *Aeneid*, and who apparently used the sources independently) stresses Aeneas' rescue of the Penates. Dionysius had access to works of which we have the merest fragments, and many works entirely lost to us, and it seems safe to conclude from his telling of the story that the household gods played a large part in the legend.

<sup>1</sup> See Fr. Cauer, *Die Römische Aeneaslegend von Naevius bis Vergilius*.



Vergil in the *Aeneid* follows the main tradition except that, as many have pointed out, literary reasons forced him to abandon the idea that the Greeks allowed Aeneas to depart. Aeneas to be a real hero had to resist the Greeks as long as possible, and then contrive his escape, not because he was unwilling to fight to the death, but because of divine compulsion. This is well worked out in the second book. The description of the sack of Troy begins with the apparition to Aeneas of Hector, who returned from the dead to tell Aeneas that upon him devolved the responsibility of saving the household gods:

“heu fuge, nate dea, teque his” ait “eripe flammis.  
hostis habet muros; ruit alto a culmine Troia.  
sat patriae Priamoque datum: si Pergama dextra  
defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent.  
sacra suosque tibi commendat Troia penatis;  
hos cape fatorum comites, his moenia quaere  
magna, pererrato statues quae denique ponto.”  
sic ait et manibus vittas Vestamque potentem  
aeternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem.

II, 289-297.

These lines place upon Aeneas a sacred duty, and bring out the hopelessness of resisting the Greeks. Yet he takes up the fight against odds, and we have our first picture of his prowess as a warrior. We are not allowed, however, to forget that the fall of Troy is inevitable and that Aeneas has strong personal reasons to fly. The death of Priam suggests to Aeneas the possible fate of Anchises, Creusa, and Iulus (II, 559-565), and a few lines later (589) Venus appears to him and reproaches him for his neglect of father, wife, and son, and shows the



futility of opposing Neptune, Juno, and Pallas, the real enemies of Troy. Then follows the picture of the actual escape, Aeneas with his father on his shoulders and his son by his side:

dextrae se parvus Iulus  
implicuit sequiturque patrem non passibus aequis.  
II, 723-724.

Here the Penates are again brought to our attention, when Aeneas, feeling (as the reader must) that his blood-stained hands should not touch the divine images, asks Anchises to carry them:

tu, genitor, cape sacra manu patriosque penatis.  
II, 717.

This takes the reader back to Hector's commands, and the two instances show Vergil's way of dealing with the tradition of Aeneas' exhibition of piety at the fall of Troy. This, too, was probably the historical reason for his adopting the epithet *pius* for Aeneas.<sup>1</sup> In this connection it is significant that the first mention in the *Aeneid* of Aeneas' piety,

insignem pietate virum . . . , I, 10.

comes soon after a line which puts the bearing of his gods to Latium on a par with the founding of the Roman race in Aeneas' purpose:

multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem  
inferretque deos Latio . . . , I, 5-6.

<sup>1</sup> *Pius* is not used with Aeneas, so far as we know from the extant fragments, by any writer before Vergil. Ennius used it with Anchises (Ennius, *ed.* Vahlen, *An.*, 30) and Anchises may have been the man whom Naevius describes as *senex fretus pietate* (Baehrens, *P.L.M.*, VI, 48).



Two more are in close connection with a religious rite, the funeral of Misenus:

ergo omnes magno circum clamore fremebant,  
praecipue pius Aeneas. tum iussa Sibyllae,  
haud mora, festinant flentes aramque sepulcro  
congerere arboribus caeloque educere certant.

nec non Aeneas opera inter talia primus  
hortatur socios . . . ,

VI, 175-178, 183-184.

and

idem<sup>1</sup> ter socios pura circumtulit unda  
spargens rore levi et ramo felicis olivae,  
lustravitque viros dixitque novissima verba.  
at pius Aeneas ingenti mole sepulcrum  
imponit . . .

VI, 229-233.

It should be remembered that Misenus' death had been predicted by the Sibyl, the priestess of Apollo, and that the funeral rites were carried out in answer to her orders (*cf.* VI, 149-155). One other time Aeneas is called *pius* when carrying out a divine order: when he obeys Jupiter's command to start for Hesperia although wanting in his heart to stay with Dido:

at pius Aeneas, quamquam lenire dolentem  
solando cupit et dictis avertere curas,  
multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus  
amore

iussa tamen divum exsequitur classemque revisit.

IV, 393-396.

Two more occurrences of the epithet can be cited as

<sup>1</sup> Corynaeus.

certain examples of its use in a religious sense. The first is in the beginning of the sixth book, where Aeneas seeks the temple of Apollo while his companions pitch camp on the shore and prepare the feast:

at pius Aeneas arces quibus altus Apollo  
praesidet horrendaeque procul secreta Sibyllae,  
antrum immane, petit . . . VI, 9-11.

The second is in the twelfth book, where Aeneas tries to stop the battle after Juturna has succeeded in making both Latins and Trojans break the treaty. The treaty was regarded as a sacred rite, entered upon with solemn religious ceremonies (see XII, 160-216). When Latinus realizes that the treaty has been broken, he withdraws:

fugit ipse Latinus  
pulsatos referens infecto foedere divos.  
XII, 285-286.

Aeneas on the other hand tries to restore peace:

at pius Aeneas dextram tendebat inermem  
nudato capite atque suos clamore vocabat:  
"quo ruitis? . . .  
. . . Turnum debent haec iam mihi *sacra*."  
XII, 311-313, 317.

The three occurrences of *pius Aeneas* in connection with the games in the fifth book (V, 26, 286, 418) are less directly associated with religious observance, and yet that seems to be the underlying idea. The games are in honour of Anchises. This would seem to indicate *pietas in patrem*, but they were essentially funeral games and thus a religious observance. The religious idea behind them is pointed by the elaborate description of

the prayer and sacrifice which preceded them (V, 71-103). So the *pietas* called to our attention by the epithet *pius* is *in deos*, and as such is reinforced by the fact that Aeneas is fulfilling a sacred duty to his father (cf. V, 49-50).

Of the seven remaining times when *pius Aeneas* is used, five give no definite clue to the predominant meaning. The first is:

at pius Aeneas per noctem plurima volvens.  
I, 305.

Here the use of *pius* suggests that the hero prayed as well as thought. The second is where Aletes is discussing rewards for Nisus and Euraylus:

. . . tum cetera reddet  
actutum pius Aeneas . . . IX, 254-255.

The third and fourth are in the battle in Book X:

quem pius Aeneas dictis adfatur amaris, X, 591.  
and

tum pius Aeneas hastam iacit . . . X, 783.

The use of *pius* in these places is perhaps the most difficult to explain in accordance with any meaning of the word. It is necessary to keep reminding oneself throughout the tenth book that Aeneas is avenging the death of Pallas. Even Augustus took bloody vengeance for the death of Julius Caesar.

The fifth is in Evander's speech over the body of Pallas:

quin ego non alio digner te funere, Palla,  
quam pius Aeneas . . . XI, 169-170.

The force of *pius* here depends upon the meaning of *funus*. If, as Professor Fairclough does (Loeb Library, *Vergil*), we translate it "death," *pius* is merely an honorary epithet applied to Aeneas by Evander. If, on the other hand, we follow Servius (*latenter hic Aeneae ostenditur pietas, qui in amici funus tanta contulit, ut pater amplius praestare non possit*—Servius, *ad. Aen.*, XI, 169) and take it to mean funeral, and at the same time remember Vergil's use of *pius* in connection with the funerals of Caieta and Misenus, the whole sentence is strengthened; for we realize at once Evander's sorrow at being unable to add to the honours of his son, and his respect for Aeneas, increased by the latter's fulfilment of the funeral rites.

The two final examples are the only ones in which the idea of pity, the meaning Henry wanted to make so much a part of the word, may predominate. The first,

praecipue pius Aeneas nunc acris Oronti,  
nunc Amyci casum gemit . . . ,                      I, 220-221.

comes after the storm when Aeneas is mourning the loss of his companions. The circumstances here do not, however, exclude the religious sense of *pius*. The second is where Aeneas speaks to the dead Lausus:

at vero ut vultum vidit morientis et ora,  
ora modis Anchisiades pallentia miris,  
ingemuit miserans graviter dextramque tetendit,  
et mentem patriae subiit pietatis imago.  
"quid tibi nunc, miserande puer, pro laudibus istis  
quid pius Aeneas tanta dabit indole dignum?  
arma, quibus laetatus, habe tua; teque parentum  
manibus et cineri, si qua est ea cura, remitto.



hoc tamen infelix miseram solabere mortem:  
Aeneae magni dextra cadis." X, 821-830.

The boy had died for his father, and Aeneas, the son of Anchises, is struck by this filial devotion, *patriae . . . pietatis imago*, and is sorry. Yet even in this occurrence of *pius* the idea of pity is enhanced by an idea of religion: *pius Aeneas* promises that the funeral rites will be carried out.

Four times is Aeneas' *pietas* mentioned by companions:—

- (1) rex erat Aeneas nobis, quo iustior alter  
nec pietate fuit, nec bello maior et armis,  
I, 544-545.

where Ilioneus speaks to Dido about Aeneas.

- (2) "vade," ait "o felix nati pietate . . .," III, 480.  
where Helenus says farewell to Anchises.

- (3) Troius Aeneas, pietate insignis et armis,  
ad genitorem imas Erebi descendit ad umbras.  
si te nulla movet tantae pietatis imago,  
at ramum hunc . . . , VI, 402-405.

where the Sibyl introduces Aeneas to the guardian of the lower world.

- (4) ambo animis, ambo insignes praestantibus armis,  
hic pietate prior . . . , XI, 291-292.

where the embassy reports to Latinus Diomedes' idea of Hector and Aeneas.

Of these examples the second and third refer specifically to Anchises. With the exception of the second,

all of them contrast Aeneas' two outstanding qualities, prowess in arms and piety, as they were contrasted in the second book.<sup>1</sup>

It is plain from these examples, that although the meanings *pius in patrem, in filium, in patriam, in amicos* are not excluded by Vergil, they are rarely specifically included. On the other hand, it should be clear that he does distinctly emphasize the meaning *pius in deos*, that is the fulfilling of sacred duties, as his Greek and Latin predecessors did. That the broader meaning is not necessary is somewhat shown by the use with Aeneas of two other epithets which have a moral significance, *magnanimus* (I, 260; V, 17, 407; XI, 204) and *bonus* (V, 770; IX, 106). The use of these excludes from *pius* the specific meanings "great souled," "magnanimous," and "good."<sup>2</sup>

The third epithet used with Aeneas an outstanding number of times is *nate dea*, of which there are eleven examples. The goddess is, of course, Venus, and the mother and son relationship is further emphasized by the epithets *mater* and *dea*, used in the *Aeneid* with her. Here again Vergil was following tradition, and the main interest lies in his reasons for the frequent use of the epithet. These are, I think, the same reasons which account for the frequent use of *pater* and *pius*, and so we may discuss them together.

<sup>1</sup> With these one should compare the description by Anchises of Silvius Aeneas:

Silvius Aeneas, pariter pietate vel armis  
egregius . . .

VI, 769-770.

<sup>2</sup> The latter is especially important, for I think it shows that the weak translation of *pius*, "good," used by Conington and lately by Fairclough is wrong. Glover says *pius* is untranslatable. It is certainly hard to find a word, and it is with hesitation that I suggest "devout."

<sup>3</sup> See under *Venus*, Appendix I and p. 44.

First of all, Vergil was too careful an antiquarian and scholar to ignore the tradition. Secondly, he naturally stressed those traditional facts about his character which could best be adapted to his plot, which is the case with the leadership, divine blood, and piety of Aeneas. His leadership makes him the centre of the action, the responsible head of the Trojans, and thus points Juno's opposition to him. His piety makes the persecution by a goddess unjust, and arouses the reader's sympathy. His divine blood ensures him an immortal as a champion, and by including the gods in the struggle, strengthens the plot. These facts are kept before the reader by repetition of the epithets.

There is a third reason for the frequency of *pater*, *pius*, and *nate dea*, namely, the association of Augustus with the *Aeneid*, and with Aeneas. The *Aeneid* was undertaken at Augustus' behest, and he kept an active interest in it and complained of the slowness of its progress. Moreover at the poet's death, it was Augustus who saved the manuscript from the flames. His interest is easily explained, first by his undoubted personal friendship for Vergil, secondly by the part he himself played in the poem.

Servius says that the whole intent of the *Aeneid* was to praise Augustus, and in both the longer and shorter commentaries he supports this point of view. There are twenty-seven lines which, he says in his notes, were included for the praise, direct or indirect, of Augustus. The modern reader may not recognize all of these, but there are three outstanding examples of direct praise of Augustus—in Jupiter's prophecy to Venus in Book I, in Anchises' prophecy to Aeneas in Book VI, and in the description of the shield in Book VIII. Servius nowhere

suggests that Aeneas was modelled on Augustus, but the possibility has always existed and it has roused a storm of dispute.

Sainte-Beuve (*op. cit.*, p. 63) quotes Dunlop's attempt to carry the parallel between Augustus and Aeneas to its logical conclusion. Dunlop not only makes all of Aeneas' actions allegorical representations of Augustus' life, he makes the other characters of the poem correspond to Augustus' friends and enemies. After retailing Dunlop's views, Sainte-Beuve says: "Non, non, encore une fois non, me crie de toutes ses forces ma conscience poetique." He admits, however, (p. 64) that Vergil was influenced by Augustus' character:

"Certes, il y a dans le caractère d'Enée des intentions, des réverbérations marquées et sensibles du caractère et de la politique d'Auguste, des teintes d'Auguste sur le front d'Enée, mais rien que des réverbérations et des teintes."

Glover (*Virgil*, Chap. VII, especially pp. 165-171) gives Dunlop's view as cited by Sainte-Beuve, and after giving Sainte-Beuve's opinion of it adds: "everyone with any poetical conscience at all will agree with him." He concludes (p. 167): "a creaking allegory with a figure drawn from life in the very middle of it is not likely to have been Vergil's idea of an epic. The poet draws the largest and most heroic figure he can conceive, and even if in some of its traits it resembles Augustus, it is more truly an ideal for the Emperor to follow than a portrait of what he actually is."

Eduard Norden, in his excellent article in the *Neue Jahrbücher für das Classische Altertum* for 1901, "Vergils

Aeneis im Lichte ihrer Zeit," has perhaps arrived at the right point of view. He says (p. 271):

"So it would be false . . . if we should see in Aeneas an Augustus of past times, but if we say that the poet pictured a type in Aeneas in which every reader found the characteristic traits which he admired in the great descendant of Aeneas, we have found the truth: *Troius Aeneas pietate insignis et armis* (VI, 403), these two qualities owe to Augustus their success, as he himself proclaims on the *Monumentum Ancyranum* and as all contemporaries felt."

A study of Aeneas' epithets and their sources reinforces Norden's conclusion, and perhaps clarifies it somewhat. In the first place, if the Aeneas of Vergil's *Aeneid* is in all of his predominant characteristics the Aeneas of literary tradition (see above, p. 68), it is obvious that he cannot be modelled upon Augustus. On the other hand, if we look for a reason for Vergil's frequent use of special epithets expressing certain traits of Aeneas, taken from the tradition though they are, we must consider the possibility that Augustus' life and public character made the poet select them. This does not mean what cannot be so, that Aeneas was Augustus, but it seems almost certain that Vergil, after his association with the princeps and considering the latter's interest in the poem, must have reflected in his hero the qualities of his patron.

The view that Aeneas was "more truly an ideal for the Emperor to follow than a portrait of what he actually was," as Glover says,<sup>1</sup> is demonstrably wrong in the

<sup>1</sup> A view also suggested more recently by N. W. De Witt in *T.P.A.Ph.A.*, 1923, p. 50.



cases of the qualities most stressed by Vergil—leadership (*pater*), piety (*pius*), divine birth (*nate dea*)—for the claims of Augustus, and before him of Julius Caesar, to all of these qualities had been popularly recognized before the *Aeneid* was published. Caesar was called *pater patriae* in 44 B.C. (Dio. XLIV, 5), and on his tombstone was the inscription *Patri Patriae* (Boissier, *La Religion Romaine*, Vol. I, p. 140). Augustus was not officially designated *pater patriae* until 2 B.C., but the simple title *pater* had been unofficially given to him long before.<sup>1</sup> Horace (*Odes*, I, ii. 50) says to Augustus:

Hic ames dici pater atque princeps.

This could not have been written later than 23 B.C., and was probably written as early as 27 B.C. (Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit*, Vol. II, p. 715). Augustus had been, as fetial priest,<sup>2</sup> known as *pater patratus* as early as 32 B.C. (Gardthausen, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 364; Vol. II, p. 187). The use of *pater* as a title of respect for a priest, as well as for a noble or ruler, fits in very well with the character of Aeneas in the *Aeneid*, and Vergil may well have been influenced, as Servius thinks, in the writing of certain lines by the rites of the fetial priesthood. In any case, Vergil was not the cause of Augustus' being called *pater patriae*; on the contrary, the tradition behind the honorary title *pater* must have been enhanced for Vergil by its use with Julius Caesar and Augustus, and so may have influenced him in his use of the epithet *pater* with Aeneas.

<sup>1</sup> For the evidence consult Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit*, Vol. I, pp. 1124-5; Vol. II, pp. 735-6.

<sup>2</sup> See Livy, I, 24, 6, for description of office. Cf. Servius *ad Aen.*, IX, 53; X, 14; XII, 206. From X, 14, it is evident that Servius considered the custom of the *pater patratus* Trojan as well as Latin.



Similarly *nate dea* could have had no effect on Augustus' claim to descent from Venus, for this had already been claimed by his foster father, Julius Caesar, and by the Julian gens as early as 132 B.C. Julius Caesar first claimed descent from Venus in 68 B.C., when he delivered the funeral oration in honour of his father's sister, the wife of Marius (Plut., V, 3; Suet., VI, 1). Later, at the battle of Pharsalia, he had vowed to erect a temple to *Venus Genetrix* if his cause should be successful, and he formally dedicated this temple in September of 46 B.C. (Holmes, *The Roman Republic*, Vol. III, p. 282). In connection with this dedication, the ancient *Ludus Troiae* was revived (Gardthausen, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 476; Vol. II, p. 262), a further reminder to the populace of Caesar's Trojan blood.

Professor Tenney Frank in his recent book, *Vergil*, (pp. 68-75) uses Julius Caesar's connection with Venus and his celebration of the *Ludus Troiae* in an attempt to prove that much of the *Aeneid* was written in Julius Caesar's lifetime. Frank, after quoting Catalepton XIV:

Si mihi susceptum fuerit decurrere munus,  
 o Paphon, o sedes quae colis Idalias,  
 Troius Aeneas Romana per oppida digno  
 iam tandem ut tecum carmine uectus eat:  
 non ego ture modo aut picta tua templa tabella  
 ornabo et puris sertam feram manibus;  
 corniger hos aries humilis, sed maxima, taurus,  
 uictima sacros sparget honore focos,  
 marmoreusque tibi caput, ignicolorius alas,  
 in morem picta stabit Amor pharetra.  
 adsis, o Cytherea: tuus te Caesar Olympo  
 et Surrentini litoris ara uocat,

concludes from the tone of the poem that it was written about 46 B.C. instead of about 26 B.C., as scholars have heretofore presumed. He explains the references to an epic about Aeneas by saying that Vergil had at this time begun an epic with Julius Caesar in the background. As additional evidence he offers the mention, in Catalepton IX, of the poet's ambition to write an epic, and the allusion to an epic in the sixth Eclogue, especially in the line,

cum canerem reges et proelia . . . ,

and the comments of Servius and Donatus on this line. He then returns to Catalepton XIV, explaining the importance of Venus in the poem there mentioned (which is assumed to be the *Aeneid*) by the inspiration the poet had received from Julius Caesar's dedication of his temple to *Venus Genetrix* in 46 B.C. He then says that by presuming that Vergil worked on the *Aeneid* before Julius Caesar's death, we can better understand much of the poem as we now have it: lines 286 ff. of Book I he, with Servius but against modern editors, would make refer to the dictator; the *Ludus Troiae* of the fifth book he would make the poetic reproduction of the *Ludus Troiae* given by Julius Caesar in 46 B.C.; the dallying of Aeneas at Carthage would represent the stay of Caesar with Cleopatra; the battle scenes of the last book would picture Julius Caesar's never-ending wars; finally, "the young Octavian . . . seems to peer through the portrait of Ascanius."<sup>1</sup>

In considering Frank's discussion of Julius Caesar's part in the formation of the plan of the *Aeneid*, and there-

<sup>1</sup> This allegory would carry more conviction if it were not possible to construct an even better one on the basis of Aeneas—Augustus, and the latter, as we have seen, is not, in all its details, held in high esteem by modern critics.

fore the possibility of assigning to many of the books an inception during his lifetime, it seems best to examine first the evidence he adduces from Caesar's claim to descent from Venus through Aeneas, and from Caesar's presentation of the *Ludus Troiae*. Here he fails to mention that Venus was as emphatically claimed as an ancestress by Augustus as she had been by his foster father. The temple of *Venus Genetrix*, although dedicated by Julius Caesar in 46 B.C., probably, like the Forum Julium of which it was the centre point, was not actually finished before his death, but was completed by Octavian.<sup>1</sup> In any case, Octavian celebrated the completion of the temple in such a way as to bring his ties with Venus home to the people and to court their favour. Dio, writing of the year 44 B.C., says (*Roman History*, Cary's Loeb Library edition, XLV, 6, 4): "After this came the festival appointed in honour of the completion of the temple of Venus, which some, while Caesar was still alive, had promised, but were now holding in slight regard, even as they did the games in the Circus in honour of the Parilia, so, to win the favour of the populace he provided for it at his private expense on the ground that it concerned him because of his family." Then Dio (XLV, 7) notes the appearance of the comet which was taken to be a sign of Caesar's deification and says: "Octavian took courage and set up in the temple of Venus a bronze statue of him with a star above his head."

Octavian's emphasis at this time on his descent from Venus is further witnessed by the remains of the "Lex Coloniae Iuliae Genetivae," a colony constituted in 44 B.C. for the veterans, and named in honour of *Venus*

<sup>1</sup> See Boissier, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 80; T. R. Holmes, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 283; Mommsen *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, IV, 1, 12-14.

*Genetrix* (Gardthausen, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 39; Mommsen, *Eph. Epigr.*, II, 105, 119, 221, and III, 87). That he kept his claims thereafter continuously before the public we know from his coins—an important means in themselves of reminding the people of his divine blood. The coins of the gens Iulia have been collected by Babelon<sup>1</sup> and are pictured in Vol. II of his *Les Monnaies de la République Romaine*, pp. 1-100. About the Venus coins, he says:

“At the same time the members of this family gave themselves a divine origin: they claimed descent from Iulus or Ascanius, who was the descendant of Venus and of Anchises: he came and founded the town of Alba after the fall of Troy. The dictator Julius Caesar took pleasure in alluding, in his public acts, to this divine descent; this explains the presence of *Venus Genetrix* on a great number of his coins; the name of this goddess was the countersign of the dictator’s soldiers at the battles of Pharsalia and Munda. Caesar erected to her, in accordance with a vow he had made on the eve of Pharsalia, a temple which was dedicated with unheard-of sumptuousness, the 25th of September, 708 (46 B.C.). Augustus went still further with the dynastic claims of his adopted family and Venus continued, even during the Empire, to be proclaimed the mother of the Caesars.”

From these facts it is seen that the references to Venus both in *Catalepton XIV* and in the *Aeneid* are as easily explained by the influence of Augustus as they are by that of Julius Caesar. This is also true of the references to the *Ludus Troiae*. Julius Caesar presented it in 46 B.C., true, but Augustus also presented it in 29 B.C.,

<sup>1</sup> See also Boissier, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 8c.

with even greater splendour than his foster father had.<sup>1</sup> It is easier to refer the reproduction of the "game of Troy" in the fifth book to the latter presentation, for we know that in 29 B.C., Vergil was at work on the *Aeneid*, a circumstance which is altogether doubtful or problematic for the earlier date.<sup>1</sup>

It is impossible to date the inception of the Venus idea in the *Aeneid* by references to public claims to descent from Venus made by either Julius Caesar or Augustus, because they began before Vergil wrote anything and continued after his death. In addition to this, *Venus mater* was a prominent part of the literary legend. The date of the *Ludus Troiae* is not of help here, because it might have been included in the *Aeneid* or in a first draft before the poet had decided to give to Venus the prominent part she now holds. If, however, we can prove that the earlier plan of the epic did not feature Venus, and if we can assign any of the extant books to that earlier plan and show that the other books are subsequent, and then if we can date the earlier books, we can give an approximate date to the rise of the Venus idea, and so a probable reason for that idea.

Miss M. M. Crump in her book, *The Growth of the Aeneid*, has given a very able summary of the evidence and deduced a very plausible theory about the order of composition of the books of the *Aeneid*. In her summary (p. 118), she puts Books III, V, I, IV between 29 and 26 B.C., and in that order. One of her reasons for considering III the earliest book is that throughout it Apollo

<sup>1</sup> Gardthausen, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 476, 893. The criticism following Augustus' presentation, due to the injury of one of the noble performers, would explain Vergil's care in setting forth the tradition behind the games as a defence of Augustus.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Frank, pp. 167 ff.



is obviously the guide and patron of Aeneas, whereas "Venus is only mentioned as receiving a sacrifice at the beginning of the journey and then only among the other gods" (p. 23). Her other proofs of the early date of III are sufficient without this, but I believe this fits in very well with the traditional date for the beginning of the *Aeneid*, 29 B.C. In that year Augustus paid his vow to build a temple to Apollo, to whom he ascribed his victory at Actium and whom he considered his particular guardian deity (Gardthausen, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 873). If the stimulus to work on the *Aeneid*, even had an epic been long under the poet's consideration, came from witnessing Augustus' triumph in 29 (rather than Julius Caesar's in 46), or from a request of Augustus' made at that time, the place of Apollo in the third book (the original first book) would be natural. Then, as we have seen above, the inclusion of the *Ludus Troiae* in the fifth book (the original second book) could be explained by its presentation at Augustus' triumph, and Miss Crump's supposed order of composition, III, V, I, IV, would fit in very nicely. In any case we cannot refer the importance of Apollo in Book III, an importance contrary to the legend, to anything in Julius Caesar's life. Also, if III is the earliest (and Miss Crump seems to have conclusively proved it) and if it was written in 29 B.C. or soon after, we cannot refer Venus' part in the *Aeneid* to Julius Caesar, nor can we accept Frank's early date for Catalepton XIV in preference to the traditional one. We can explain the change from making Apollo the guardian to making Venus the guardian by two surmises. First, as Vergil went more deeply into the literature of the Aeneas legend (that he gathered material as he worked is shown by his last voyage to Greece) he



was more impressed by the part played by Venus, and so felt inclined to conform with tradition. Secondly, he realized the opportunities for increasing the strength of his plot by adding the Juno-Venus sub-plot. (The fact that there is little reference to Juno's wrath in III is another of Miss Crump's reasons for putting it early.) This change would have been further suggested to Vergil by Augustus' public claims to descent from Venus and it would have pleased Augustus himself to have his divine ancestress given so prominent a place.

The emphasis which the *Aeneid* gives to the traditional *pietas* of Aeneas can also be explained by reference to Augustus' public character. He instituted a wide-spread religious reform and made himself its leader by erecting new temples and rebuilding old ones, by reviving old cults and rituals, by himself taking part in public sacrifices and devotions (Boissier, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Chap. I). His wide-spread activity is evidenced by the *Monumentum Ancyranum* in which he catalogued those achievements. It speaks near the close (*Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, ed. Mommsen, Chap. 6, p. 20) of the golden shield hung up in the *Curia Julia* "quem mihi Senatum Populumque Romanum dare virtutis, clementiae, iustitiae, pietatis causa testatum est per eius clupei inscriptionem." In the Latin text the words *pietatis causa* are lost, but Mommsen considers them a certain restoration from the Greek διὰ εὐσεβείαν. This shield, with its inscription recording Augustus' piety, was presented to him, according to the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (VI, 13), in his seventh consulship, that is, 27 B.C. If the "Senate and Roman people" had at this time already recognized his piety, his service to

the gods, it is safe to say that Vergil also had, and was influenced by it in dealing with the *pietas* of Aeneas.

It seems, therefore, that the Aeneas of Vergil was influenced by the Roman princeps, though to what extent cannot be definitely determined. However, even if Vergil was working purely with the legend, unmindful of his patron's character, the result was such that the Roman reader would have been compelled to connect the two, so evidently were *pater*, *Venus Genetrix*, *pietas* associated with Augustus before, during, and after the time when Vergil was writing the *Aeneid*. That this connection was made we may deduce from Horace's *Carmen Saeculare*, composed in 17 B.C. for the saecular games. Since these were ordered and directed by Augustus, it is not surprising to find the honouring of Augustus one of the chief objects of the hymn. In it we have the lines (36-52):

Romae si vestrum est opus Iliaequē  
 litus Etruscum tenuere turmae  
 iussa pars mutare Lares et urbem  
     sospite cursu,  
 cui per ardentem sine fraude Troiam  
 castus Aeneas patriae superstes  
 liberum munivit iter, daturus  
     plura relictis:  
 di, probos mores docili iuventae  
 di, senectuti placidae quietem  
 Romulae genti date remque prolemque  
     et decus omne!  
 quaeque vos bobus veneratur albis  
 clarus Anchisae Venerisque sanguis,  
 impetret, bellante prior, iacentem  
     lenis in hostem!

Here we have the Aeneas of the *Aeneid*, who brought his household gods to the Etruscan shore after rescuing them from burning Troy. There are at least three more definite and important reminiscences of the *Aeneid* in these lines:—

The fact that Aeneas is called *castus*, which the lexicons show must here mean “religious,” as it does in the line in the *Aeneid*:

hac casti maneant in religione nepotes III, 409.  
(and *castus Aeneas* is as near to *pious Aeneas* as the Sapphic meter allows).

The fact that Augustus, sacrificing, is called Anchisae Venerisque sanguis . . . bellante prior.  
With this one must compare the line of the *Aeneid*:

nec pietate fuit nec bello maior et armis. I, 545.

The fact that he is called *lenis in hostem*, which one must compare with the famous lines from the sixth book of the *Aeneid*:

tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento  
(hae tibi erunt artes), pacisque imponere morem,  
parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.

VI, 852 ff.

Horace probably intended these lines of the *Carmen Saeculare* as at once allusion and tribute to the memory of his dead friend, a compliment which Augustus would appreciate. In any case, the close association here of Aeneas and Augustus taken with the evident reminiscences from the *Aeneid* shows that Horace at least connected the hero of the *Aeneid* with the patron of its author.



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## APPENDIX I

THE following list gives, in alphabetical order, all the personal names in the *Aeneid* with which epithets are used. Under each name will be found the epithets used and the references to each occurrence. An "a" after a reference indicates that the epithet is used in antonomasia; a † that the name with which the epithet is used stands for a thing, *e.g.*, Bacchus, for wine.

This appendix would seem to duplicate the late J. B. Carter's *Epitheta deorum quae apud poetas Latinos leguntur*, a supplement to Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*. A comparison of this list and the one given in Appendix II with Carter's work will show how very incomplete his references to Vergil are, and therefore how untrustworthy his work is. In judging it one must remember that he did not have the advantage accorded to later scholars by Prof. M. N. Wetmore's excellent *Index Verborum Vergilianus*.



ABAS *Etruscus*  
torvus, X, 170

ABAS *Troianus*  
magnus, III, 286

ACCA  
fida ante alias, XI, 821  
soror, XI, 823

ACESTES  
auctor, V, 418  
bonus, I, 195  
clarus, I, 550; V, 106  
consanguineus, V, 771  
Dardanius, V, 30, 711  
divinus, divinae stirpis, V, 711  
generatus Troia, V, 61  
gravis, V, 387  
hospes, V, 63, 630  
magnus, IX, 218  
maturus aevi, V, 73  
pater, V, 521, 533a  
rex, I, 558, 570; IX, 286  
sanguis, Troiano a sanguine, I, 550  
senior, V, 301, 573  
Troianus, V, 757; *cf.* generatus, sanguis

ACHAEMENIDES  
comes infelicis Ulixi, III, 613, 691

ACHATES  
fidus, I, 188; VI, 158; VIII, 521, 586; X, 332; XII, 384  
fortis, I, 120, 579  
magnus, X, 344  
rapidus, I, 644

ACHILLES  
Aeacides, I, 99a; VI, 58a  
armipotens, VI, 839  
cristatus, I, 468  
eversor Priami regnorum, XII, 545  
fortis, *v.* Pelides  
genitor, *v.* Pelides  
immitis, I, 30; III, 87  
Larisaeus, II, 197; XI, 404  
magnus, XI, 438  
Pelides, XII, 350a; fortis, V, 808a; genitor, II, 548a  
saevus, I, 458; II, 29

ACMON  
Lyrnesius, X, 128

ACOETES  
armiger Evandro, XI, 32  
confectus aevo, XI, 85  
infelix, XI, 85  
senior, XI, 31

ACONTEUS  
acer, XI, 612

ACRAGAS  
arduus, III, 703

ACRISIUS  
pater, VII, 372; *cf.* INACHUS

ACRON  
Graius homo, X, 720  
infelix, X, 730

ACTOR  
Auruncus, XII, 94  
maximus, XII, 96

ADAMASTUS  
genitor, III, 614

ADRASTUS  
pallens, VI, 480

AENEAS  
acer, XII, 783a; in armis, XII, 938;  
hasta, XII, 789a; *v.* vir  
amicus, *sc.* *Deiphobi*, VI, 500a  
Anchisa satus, V, 244a, 424a; VI, 331a; VII, 152a; generatus, VI, 322a  
Anchisiades, VIII, 521; X, 822a;  
dux, VI, 348a; magnanimus, V, 407a; Tros, VI, 126a; X, 250a  
arduus hasta, XII, 789a; *cf.* acer  
bonus, V, 770; XI, 106  
caput Dardanium, IV, 640a; XI, 399a; infandum, IV, 613a  
carus, *v.* genitor, parens  
coniunx dulcis, II, 777a  
cura Veneris, V, 804a  
Dardanius, I, 494; VI, 169; XI, 472; XII, 14a, 613; *v.* caput  
ductor, dux, iuvenis, vir  
Dardanus, IV, 662  
desertor Asiae, XII, 15a

- divus, XII, 797a  
dominus, IV, 214  
ductor Dardanius, X, 602a,  
814a; fortissimus Teucrum  
atque Italum, VIII, 513a;  
maximus Teucrorum, VIII,  
470a; Rhoetius, XII, 456a;  
Troianus, X, 602a  
dulcis, *v.* coniunx  
dux Dardanius, IV, 224a; IX,  
100a; inclutus Teucrum, VI,  
562a; Troianus, IV, 124a,  
165a; Troiano a sanguine,  
I, 19a; *v.* Anchisiades  
egregius, *v.* gener  
fatalis, XI, 232  
ferus, IV, 466  
filius Veneris, I, 325  
fortissimus Teucrum, VIII, 154a;  
*v.* ductor  
frater, I, 667  
gener, VII, 317a; XI, 472; XII,  
31a, 63, 613; egregius, XI,  
355a  
generatus, *v.* Anchisa  
genitor, I, 716a; IV, 84a, IX,  
257a, 264a, 272a; carus, I,  
677a  
gens deum, X, 228; satus gente  
deum, VIII, 36a; *v.* rex  
heros, I, 196a; IV, 447a; V,  
289a; VI, 103; Laomedontius,  
VIII, 18a; maximus, VI, 192a;  
Troius, VI, 451a; VIII, 530a;  
X, 584a, 886a; XII, 502a  
impius, IV, 496a  
inclutus, *v.* dux  
Indiges, XII, 794  
infandus, *v.* caput  
ingens, VI, 413; VIII, 367; *v.*  
vir  
insignis animo et armis, XI,  
291a; pietate et armis, VI,  
403a; *v.* vir  
invictus, VI, 365a  
iuvenis Dardanius, IX, 88a  
Laomedontius, *v.* heros  
magnanimus, I, 260; V, 17; IX,  
204; *v.* Anchisiades  
magnus, IX, 787; X, 159, 830  
maximus, V, 530; *v.* ductor,  
heros  
natus, *sc.* Anchisae, II, 704a,  
733a *bis*; III, 182a; V, 724a,  
725a, 733a; VI, 689a, 722a;  
752a, 781a, 868a, 888a, 897a,  
VII, 124a; *sc.* Veneris, I, 407a,  
590a; II, 594a, 619a; VIII,  
383a, 569a, 609a, 613a; nate  
dea. *i.e.*, Veneris, I, 582a,  
615a; II, 289a; III, 311a,  
374a, 435a; IV, 560a; V, 383a,  
474a, 709a; VIII, 59a  
omen pugnae, X, 311  
optimus armis, IX, 40; *v.* pater  
origo Romanae stirpis, XII, 166  
parens, IX, 261a; carus, I, 646a  
"Paris," IV, 215a; VII, 321a  
pater, I, 580, 699; II, 2, 674a,  
724a; III, 343, 716; IV, 605a;  
V, 130, 348, 424a, 461, 545,  
700, 827, 867; VII, 119a;  
VIII, 28, 115, 550a, 606; IX,  
172, 300a, 312a, 649a; XI,  
184, 904; XII, 166, 440, 697;  
optimus, V, 358a; optimus  
Teucrum, I, 555a  
pius, I, 220, 305, 378; IV, 393;  
V, 26, 286, 418, 685; VI, 9,  
176, 232; VII, 5; VIII, 84; IX,  
255; X, 591, 783, 826; XI,  
170; XII, 175, 311; *cf.* insignis,  
prior, vir  
Phrygius, *v.* tyrannus  
Phryx *v.* semivir  
prior pietate, XI, 292a  
primus opera inter talia, VI, 183,  
proles deum certissima, VI, 322a  
puer, *sc.* Veneris, IV, 94a  
pulcherrimus ante alios omnis,  
IV, 141  
rex, I, 553a, 575; VI, 36a, 55a;  
VII, 267a; VIII, 12; X, 224a;  
XI, 176a; Iovis de gente, VII,  
220; quo iustior alter nec  
pietate fuit nec bello maior et  
armis, I, 544-545; Teucrorum  
I, 38a; Troianus, XI, 230a

- Rhoetius, *v.* ductor  
 saevissimus, X, 878a  
 saevus, XI, 910; XII, 107  
 sanguis, satus sanguine divom,  
 VI, 125a; Troiano a sanguine  
 cretus, IV, 191; *v.* dux  
 satus, *v.* Anchisa, sanguis  
 semivir Phryx, XII, 99a  
 Troianus hospes, VIII, 188a; *v.*  
 dux, rex, sanguis, vir  
 Troius, I, 596; VI, 403; VII, 221  
 Tros, VI, 52; XII, 723; *v.*  
 Anchisiades  
 tyrannus, VII, 266a; Phrygius,  
 XII, 75a  
 vir, I, 1a, 546a, 614a; II, 744a;  
 IV, 3a, 192a, 423a, 440a, 461a,  
 495a, 498a; VI, 191a, 415a,  
 490a, 890a; X, 82a; XII, 319a,  
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mater, XII, 515
- PERIPHAS  
ingens, II, 476
- PERSEUS  
Aeacides, VI, 839  
genus armipotentis Achilli, VI, 839
- PHAETHON  
amatus, X, 189
- PHILOCTETES  
dux Meliboeus, III, 401  
Meliboeus, *v.* dux
- PHLEGETHON  
Tartareus, VI, 551
- PHLEGYAS  
miserrimus, VI, 618
- PHOLOE  
genus Cressa, V, 285  
ignara haud operum Minervae,  
V, 284  
serva, V, 284
- PHOLUS, *cf.* HYLAEUS  
bimembris, VIII, 293  
nubigena VIII, 293
- PICUS  
domitor equum, VII, 189  
Laurens, VII, 171  
pater, VII, 48
- PILUMNUS  
avus, X, 76  
parens, IX, 3  
pater, X, 619
- POLYBOETES  
sacer Cereri, VI, 484
- POLYMESTOR  
Threicius, *v.* rex  
rex Threicius, III, 51a
- POLYPHEMUS  
horrendus, *v.* monstrum  
ingens, III, 658  
monstrum horrendum, III, 658  
pastor, III, 657
- POLYXENA  
felix, *v.* virgo  
Priameia, *v.* virgo  
virgo felix una ante alias  
Priameia, III, 321a
- POMPEIUS, *Gn. Magnus*  
gener, VI, 831a
- PORTUNUS  
pater, V, 241
- POTITIUS  
auctor, VIII, 269
- PRIAMUS, *progenies Politi*  
clarus, *v.* progenies  
parvus, V, 563  
progenies clara Politi auctura  
Italos, V, 565
- PRIAMUS, *rex Troiae*  
aequaevus, *v.* rex

- infelix, III, 50  
 Laomedontiades, VIII, 158, 162a  
 pater, II, 663a *bis*  
 rex, II, 58a, 77a, 451a; aequae-  
   vus, II, 561a  
   senior, II, 509a, 544a  
 PROCAS  
   gloria Troianae gentis, VI, 767  
 PROSERPINA  
   casta, VI, 402  
   domina Ditis, VI, 397a  
   inferna, v. Iuno  
   pulchra, VI, 142  
 PYGMALION  
   avarus, I, 363  
   frater IV, 325; inimicus, IV,  
     656a  
   germanus, I, 341a, 346; IV, 44  
   immanior scelere ante alios  
     omnis, I, 347  
   impious, I, 349  
   inimicus, v. frater  
   tyrannus, I, 361a  
 PYRACMON  
   nudus membra, VIII, 425  
 PYRGO  
   nutrix regia tot Priami natorum,  
     V, 645  
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   iuvenis superbus, III, 326a  
   sanguis, Priami de sanguine, II,  
     662  
   stirps Achillae, III, 326a  
   superbus, v. iuvenis  
 QUIRINUS, cf. ROMULUS  
   pater, VI, 859  
 REMULUS  
   Tiburs, IX, 360  
 REMUS  
   frater, I, 292  
 RHADAMANTHUS  
   Gnosius, VI, 566  
 RHAEBUS  
   fortissimus, X, 865  
 RHAMNES  
   augur gratissimus Turno, IX,  
     327  
   gratissimus, v. augur  
     rex, IX, 327  
   superbus, IX, 324  
 RHEA  
   mulier, VII, 661  
   sacerdos, VII, 659  
 RHIPEUS  
   iustissimus, II, 426  
   servantissimus aequi, II, 427  
 ROMANUS  
   pater IX, 449  
 ROMULUS  
   acer, VIII, 342  
   Mavortius, VI, 777  
   pater Quirinus, VI, 859  
   Quirinus, I, 292; v. pater  
 SABINUS  
   pater, VII, 178  
   vitisator, VII, 179  
 SALII  
   exsultantes, VIII, 663  
 SALIUS  
   Acarnan, v, 298  
 SARPEDON  
   altus, IX, 697  
   ingens, I, 99  
   progenies, sc. Iovis, X, 471  
 SATURNUS  
   auctor ultimus sanguinis, VII,  
     49  
   deus vetus, VII, 204a  
   exsul, VIII, 320  
   parens, VII, 48  
   rex, VIII, 324a  
   senex, VII, 180  
   vetus, v. deus  
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   gemini, VI, 842  
 SCYLLA  
   informis, III, 431  
 SCYLLAE  
   biformes, VI, 286  
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   nympha, VII, 734

## SENECTUS

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## SERESTUS

acer, IX, 171, 779; XII, 549

fortis, IV, 288; XII, 561

## SERRANUS

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iuvenis, IX, 335

## SIBYLLA

alma, VI, 74a, 117a

Amphrysia, *v.* vates

casta, V, 735

Cumaea, VI, 98

diva, VI, 637a

docta comes, VI, 292a

horrenda, VI, 10

immanis, *v.* vates

insana, *v.* vates

longaeva, *v.* sacerdos

magna, *v.* sacerdos

praescia venturi, VI, 66a

sacerdos longaeva, VI, 321a;

longaeva Phoebe, VI, 628a;

magna, VI, 544a

sanctissima, *v.* vates

vates, III, 456a; VI, 82a, 125a,

161a, 189a, 211, 259a, 372a,

415a, 419a, 562a; Amphry-

sia, VI, 398a; immanis, VI,

78a; insana, III, 443a; sanc-

tissima, VI, 65a

virgo, III, 445a; VI, 45a, 104a,

318a, 560a

## SILVANUS

deus arborum pecorisque, VIII,

601

## SILVIA

soror, VII, 487, 503

## SILVIUS

parens regum, VI, 765

proles, postuma *sc.* *Aeneae*, VI,

763

rex, VI, 765

## SINON

miser, II, 79

periurus, II, 195

vir, II, 146a

## SOL

aversus, I, 568

avus, XII, 164

iniquus, V, 227

recurrens, VII, 100

## SOMNUS

levis, V, 838

## SOPOR

consanguineus Leti, VI, 278

deus, V, 841a, 854a

## STHENELUS

dux, II, 261; *cf.* THESSAN-  
DRUS

## SUCRO

Rutulus, XII, 505

## SYCHAEUS

coniunx, I, 343; antiquus, IV,

458a; inhumatus, I, 354a;

miser, IV, 21a; pristinus, VI,

473

ditissimus agri, I, 343

miser, *v.* coniunx

vir, IV, 656a

## TARCHON

dux, XI, 758a

igneus, XI, 746

rex, X, 149a *bis*

Tyrrenus, XI, 727

## TARPEIA

Italica, XI, 657; *cf.* LARINA,

TULLA

## TATIUS

senex, VIII, 638

## TELLUS

prima, IV, 166; deorum, VII,

136

soror magna Eumenidum, VI,

250

## TELON

senior, VII, 736

## TERRA

omniparens, VI, 595

optima, XII, 777

parens, *sc.* *Famae*, IV, 178

## TEUCRUS

maximus, *v.* pater

pater maximus, III, 107

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## TEUTHRAS

optimus, X, 402

## THESSANDRUS

dux, II, 261; cf. STHENELUS

## THESEUS

infelix, VI, 618

## THETIS

filia Nerei, VIII, 383

## THYBRIS, TIBERIS,

### TIBERINUS

amnis gratissimus caelo, VIII, 64

asper immani corpore, VIII, 330

Ausonius, V, 83

caeruleus, VIII, 64

corniger, v. fluvius

deus, X, 424a; Tiberinus senior,

VIII, 31

flavus multa harena, VII, 31

flumen Tiberinus, X, 833; XI,

449

fluvius, VII, 151; VIII, 331;

corniger, VIII, 77a

genitor, VIII, 72

gratissimus, v. amnis

Laurens, V, 797

pater, VIII, 540; X, 421

regnator Hesperidum aquarum,

VIII, 77

senior, v. deus

tumidus, XI, 393

Tyrrhenus, VII, 242

## THYMBER, v. LARIDES

senior, X, 124

## THYMOETES

Hicetaonius, X, 123

## TIMOR

ater, IX, 719

## TISIPHONE

pallida, X, 761

ultrix, VI, 570

## TITYON

alumnus Terrae, VI, 595

## TMARUS

praeceps animi, IX, 685

## TOLUMNUS

augur, XII, 258, 460

felix, XI, 429

## TORQUATUS

saevus securi, VI, 824

## TRIONES

gemini, I, 744, III, 516

## TRITON

aemulus, VI, 173

## TRITONES

citi, V, 824

## TROILUS

infelix, v. puer

puer infelix et impar Achilli, I,

475

## TULLA, cf. TARPEIA

Italis, XI, 657

## TURNUS

acer, VIII, 614; X, 308a

"Achilles," IX, 742; natus dea,

VI, 90a

alacer, XII, 337

arduus, IX, 53

audax, IX, 3, 126; X, 276; v.

Rutulus

Ausonius, XII, 183

bellator, XII, 614

consanguineus, VII, 366

Daunius, v. heros

ductor, IX, 691

dux, IX, 28

frater, XII, 157a, 785a, 844a,

883a; miser, XII, 636a, 813a,

881a

gener, VII, 57; XII, 55a

germanus, XII, 152a, 479a

heros, XII, 902a; Daunius, XII,

723a

iuvenis, XI, 123; praestans

animi, XII, 19a

Laurens, VII, 650

magnus, X, 503

miser, v. frater

natus, v. Achilles

potens avis atavisque, VII, 56

praestans, v. iuvenis

pulcherrimus ante alios omnis,

VII, 55

rapidus, XII, 81a

rex, VIII, 17; IX, 327, 369;

XII, 265a; Rutulus, IX,

728a; X, 267a



- Rutulus, IX, 65a; audax, VII, 409a; perfidus, X, 232a;  
 v. rex  
 tyrannus, X, 448a  
 vir, X, 644a
- TYPHOEUS**  
 arduus, VIII, 299
- TYRES**  
 frater, X, 403
- TYRRHUS**  
 pater, VII, 485
- UFENS**  
 ductor primus, VIII, 6; *cf.*  
 MESSAPUS  
 infelix, XII, 641  
 insignis fama et felicibus armis,  
 VII, 745
- ULIXES**  
 Aeolides, VI, 529a  
 dirus, II, 261, 762  
 durus, II, 7  
 fictor fandi, IX, 602  
 hortator scelerum, VI, 529a  
 infelix, III, 613, 691  
 inventor scelerum, II, 164; *cf.*  
 hortator  
 Ithacus, II, 104a, 122a, 128a;  
 III, 629  
 pellax, II, 90  
 saevus, III, 273
- UMBRO**  
 fortissimus, VII, 752  
 sacerdos, VII, 750  
 veniens Marsorum montibus, X,  
 544
- VALERUS**  
 expers haud virtutis avitae, X,  
 752
- VENILIA**  
 diva, X, 76  
 mater, X, 76
- VENUS**  
 Acidalia, v. mater  
 alma, I, 618; X, 332; v. parens  
 aurea, X, 16  
 candida, v. dea  
 cara, v. genetrix  
 conscia, v. coniunx  
 coniunx, *sc.* *Volcani*, VIII, 406a;  
 formae conscia, VIII, 393a  
 creatrix diva, VI, 367a; VIII,  
 534a  
 Cytherea, I, 257a, 657a; IV,  
 128a; V, 800a; VIII, 523a,  
 615a  
 dea, I, 328a, 372a, 412a, 692;  
 II, 591a; V, 816a; VIII, 617a;  
 candida, VIII, 608; mater, I,  
 382a, XII, 52a; vera, I, 405a;  
 v. *AENEAS* s. natus  
 Dionaea, v. mater  
 diva, II, 787; VIII, 387a, 396a;  
 v. creatrix, parens  
 genetrix, I, 590a; VIII, 383a;  
 XII, 412; cara, I, 689a;  
 pulcherrima, IV, 227a; XII,  
 554a  
 Idalia, V, 760  
 mater, *sc.* *Aeneae*, I, 314a, 405a,  
 585a; VIII, 370; Acidalia, I,  
 720a; Dionaea, III, 19a; v.  
 dea  
 nata, I, 256a  
 nefanda, VI, 26  
 parens, II, 606a; VIII, 729a;  
 alma, II, 591a, 664a; diva, IV,  
 365a; VI, 197a; VIII, 531a  
 pulcherrima, v. genetrix
- VERGILIUS**  
 vates, VII, 41a
- VESTA**  
 cana, V, 744; IX, 259  
 potens, II, 296
- VIRBIUS**  
 insignis, VII, 762  
 proles pulcherrima Hippolyti,  
 VII, 761  
 pulcherrimus, v. proles
- VOLCANUS (VULCANUS)**  
 carissimus, v. coniunx  
 coniunx, *sc.* *Veneris*, VIII, 372,  
 612a; carissimus, VIII, 377a

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deus, VIII, 201a; ignipotens,  
 XII, 90a  
 ignarus, *v.* Ignipotens  
 Ignipotens, VIII, 414a, 710a;  
 X, 243a; haud vatum ignarus  
 venturi inscius aevi, VIII,  
 628a; *v.* deus  
 inscius, *v.* Ignipotens  
 Lemnius, *v.* pater  
 Mulciber, VIII, 724a  
 pater, VIII, 198, 394a; Lemnius,  
 VIII, 454a

## VOLCENS

atrox, IX, 420  
 magnanimus, X, 563  
 Rutulus, IX, 442

## ZEPHYRI

felices, III, 120  
 secundi, IV, 562; V, 32

## APPENDIX II

THE following list gives all of the personal epithets found in the *Aeneid*, and under each epithet the names of the characters with whom it is used. A figure after a name shows how many times each epithet occurs with that name. Where there is no figure the epithet occurs only once.



ACARNAN  
Salius

ACER  
Aconteus  
Aeneas, 4  
Atinas, 2  
Coras  
Eryx  
Ganymedes  
Halaesus  
Lucagus  
Lycurgus  
Messapus  
Mezentius  
Mnestheus  
Orontes  
Romulus  
Serestus, 3  
Turnus, 2

ACERBUS  
Iuno

ACERRIMUS  
Ajax  
Camers  
Nisus

ACHILLES  
Turnus, 2

ACIDALIA  
Venus

ACTIUS  
Apollo

ADSUETUS  
Helymus }  
Panopes }  
Opheltes }

ADULTER  
Paris

AEACIDES  
Achilles, 2  
Perseus  
Pyrrhus

AEAEA  
Circe

AEGAEUS  
Neptunus

AEGYPTIA  
Cleopatra

AEMULUS  
Triton

AENIDES  
Ascanius

AENEIA  
Caieta

AEOLIDES  
Clytius  
Misenus  
Ulixes

AEQUAEVUS  
Entellus  
Priamus

AEQUUS  
Iuppiter  
Mars  
Minerva

AERIA  
Iris

AETNAEUS  
Cyclopes, 3

AGAMEMNONIUS  
Halaesus  
Orestes

AGMEN  
Antaeus }  
Luca }

AGRESTIS  
Nymphae

ALACER  
Mezentius  
Turnus

ALCIDES  
Hercules, 12

ALES

Auster

ALIGER

Cupido

ALMA

Cybele, 2

Diana, 3

Iuturna

Sibylla, 2

Venus, 4

ALPINUS

Boreas

ALTUS

Apollo, 2

Iuppiter, 2

Luna

Orodes

Sarpedon

ALUMNUS

Tityon

AMATUS

Phaethon

AMAZON

Camilla

AMICUS

Aeneas

Anchises

Cretheus

Deiphobus

Entellus

Euryalus, 3

Ilioneus

Nisus

AMNIS

Thybris

AMOR

Cupido, 4

AMPHITRYONIADES

Hercules, 2

AMPHRYSIA

Sibylla

ANCHISIADES

Aeneas, 6

ANTIQUUS

Butes

Ceres

Dolon

ANUS

Calybe

ANXURUS

Iuppiter

APPENNINICOLA

Aunus

AQUOSUS

Orion

ARCADIUS

Evander

Gylippus

ARCAS

Evander

ARDENS

Bitias

ARDUUS

Acragas

Aeneas

Agrippa

Iuppiter

Turnus

Typhoeus

ARGIVUS

Catillus }

Coras }

Helena

Iuno

ARMATUS

Chimaera

Orion

ARMIGER

Acoetes



- Automedon  
 Butes  
**ARMIPOTENS**  
 Achilles  
 Deiphobus  
 Mars  
 Minerva, 2  
**ARMISONUS**  
 Minerva  
**ARQUITENENS**  
 Apollo  
**ASPER**  
 Camilla  
 Iuno  
 Mezentius  
 Thybris  
**ATER**  
 Dis  
 Formido  
 Nox, 3  
 Timor  
**ATLANTIS**  
 Electra  
**ATRIDES**  
 Agamemnon } 7  
 Menelaus  
 Menelaus  
**ATROX**  
 Iuno  
 Volcens  
**AUCTOR**  
 Acestes  
 Apollo, 2  
 Dardanus, 4  
 Drances  
 Iuppiter  
 Potitius  
 Saturnus  
**AUCTURUS**  
 Priamus  
**AUDAX**  
 Pallas  
 Turnus, 4  
**AUGUR**  
 Apollo  
 Rhamnes  
 Tolumnius, 2  
**AUGUSTUS**  
 Octavius Caesar, 2  
**AUREUS**  
 Venus  
**AURIGA**  
 Iuturna  
 Metiscus, 4  
**AURUNCUS**  
 Actor  
**AUSONIUS**  
 Thybris  
 Turnus  
**AVARUS**  
 Pygmalion  
**AVERSUS**  
 Sol  
**AVUNCULUS**  
 Hector, 2  
**AVUS**  
 Pilumnus  
 Sol  
**BELIDES**  
 Palamedes  
**BELLATOR**  
 Aethon  
 Ligus  
 Mars  
 Turnus  
**BELLATRIX**  
 Camilla  
 Penthesilea  
**BELLIPOTENS**  
 Mars  
**BERECYNTIUS**  
 Cybele, 2  
**BIFORMIS**  
 Minotaurus  
 Scyllae  
**BIFRONS**  
 Ianus, 2

## BIMEMBRIS

Hylæus }  
Pholus }

## BONUS

Acestes  
Aeneas, 2  
Asilas  
Corynaeus  
Eurytion  
Iuno  
Latinus

## BOS

Io

## CAECUS

Mars, 2

## CAELIFER

Atlas

## CAERULEUS

Thybris

## CANDENS

Apollo

## CANDIDUS

Dido  
Maia  
Venus

## CANUS

Fides  
Vesta, 2

## CAPUT

Aeneas, 3  
Ascanius  
Mezentius

## CARISSIMUS

Volcanus

## CARUS

Aeneas, 2  
Anchises, 4  
Anna  
Ascanius  
Barca  
Camilla  
Iuno  
Mezentius  
Pallas  
Venus

## CASTUS

Proserpina  
Sibylla

## CELER

Nisus

## CENTEMGEMINUS

Briareus

## CINCTUS

Hydra

## CISSEIS

Hecuba, 2

## CITUS

Tritones

## CLADES

Scipiades

## CLARISSIMUS

Pandarus

## CLARUS

Acestes, 2  
Iuppiter  
Priamus

## COCYTIA

Allecto

## COMES

Antores  
Cretheus  
Epytides  
Euryalus, 2  
Melampus  
Mimas  
Misenus

## CONDITOR

Evander

## CONFECTUS AEVO

Acoetes  
Anchises

## CONIUNX

Aeneas  
Amata, 3  
Andromache  
Aurora  
Beroe, 2  
Cleopatra  
Creusa, 7  
Helena,

Iuno, 8  
 Iuppiter  
 Lavinia, 7  
 Menelaus  
 Sychaeus, 5  
 Venus, 2  
 Volcanus, 3  
**CONSANGUINEUS**  
 Acestes  
 Sopor  
 Turnus  
**CONSCIA**  
 Iuno  
 Venus  
**CONTEMPTOR**  
 Mezentius, 2  
**CORNIGER**  
 Thybris  
**CORPORA**  
 Butes }  
 Orsilochus }  
**CORRUPTA**  
 Ceres  
**CREATRIX**  
 Venus, 2  
**CREATUS**  
 Caeculus  
**CREBER**  
 Africus  
 Auster  
**CREPITANS**  
 Auster  
**CRETUS**  
 Bitias }  
 Pandarus }  
 Dardanus  
**CRINITUS**  
 Apollo  
 Iopas  
**CRISTATUS**  
 Achilles  
**CULTRIX**  
 Cybele  
 Diana  
**CUMAEUS**  
 Sibylla

**CURA**  
 Anchises  
 Ascanius  
**CUSTOS**  
 Apollo  
 Argus  
 Butes  
 Diana  
 Epytides  
 Ianus  
 Manlius  
 Opis  
**CYLLЕНИUS**  
 Mercurus, 3  
**CYTHEREA**  
 Venus, 6  
**DAEDALA**  
 Circe  
**DARDANIUS**  
 Acestes, 2  
 Aeneas, 11  
 Anchises, 2  
 Ascanius, 2  
 Paris  
**DARDANUS**  
 Aeneas  
**DATOR**  
 Bacchus  
**DAUCIUS**  
 Larides }  
 Thymber }  
**DAUNIUS**  
 Iuturna  
 Turnus  
**DEA**  
 Allecto, 2  
 Circe  
 Iuno  
 Iuturna, 3  
 Opis  
 Venus, 22  
**DEBELLATOR**  
 Lausus  
**DEBITUS**  
 Arruns  
**DECUS**  
 Camilla

- Diana  
 Iris  
 Iuturna  
 DEGENER  
   Neoptolemus  
 DELIUS  
   Apollo, 2  
 DEMENS  
   Discordia  
   Pentheus  
 DENSUS  
   Auster  
 DESERTOR  
   Aeneas  
 DESERTUS  
   Ceres  
   Creusa  
   Menelaus  
 DEUS  
   Apollo, 10  
   Charon  
   Cupido, 2  
   Eryx  
   Faunus  
   Hercules, 3  
   Iuppiter, 8  
   Mars, 3  
   Mercurius, 4  
   Neptunus  
   Saturnus  
   Silvanus  
   Thybris, 2  
   Volcanus, 2  
 DIA  
   Camilla  
 DIGNATUS  
   Anchises  
 DILECTUS  
   Creusa  
   Dido  
   Iapyx  
 DIONAEUS  
   Venus
- DIRUS  
   Celaeno, 2  
   Ulixes, 2  
 DITISSIMUS  
   Caedicus  
   Camers  
   Galaesus  
   Sychaeus  
 DIVA  
   Iuno, 5  
   Minerva, 5  
   Sibylla  
   Venilia  
   Venus, 8  
 DIVES  
   Dido  
 DIVUS  
   Aeneas  
   Faunus  
 DOCTISSIMUS  
   Cymodocea  
 DOCTUS  
   Sibylla  
 DOMINA  
   Camilla, 2  
   Cybele  
   Iuno  
   Proserpina  
 DOMINUS  
   Aeneas  
 DOMITOR  
   Lausus  
   Messapus, 4  
   Neptunus  
   Picus  
 DUCTOR  
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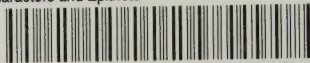


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